1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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is a man of wealth and importance he may be elected chief[1], in which case he is responsible for the discipline of the warriors and their appearance when summoned to fight, though he does not go to the wars himself. As with most East African tribes an elder's ideal of existence seems to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness. Proverb No. 64 (p. 249), 'Don't lie with your feet against a post like the father of many sons,' meaning 'Don't give yourself airs,' is a vivid picture of the Masai pater familias taking his ease in the primitive posture of lying on his back with his feet against a post, while his family do all the work for him.

Masai women, unlike the men, are carefully dressed in leather garments, but a rare, and according to our ideas most unbecoming, custom forces them to shave their heads. Before marriage they are circumcised, and signalize their change of state by wearing large circular earrings and necklaces of brass and iron wire. Both girls and women have their legs and arms encased in iron ornaments, so that they can sometimes hardly walk.

This military organization of the Masai made them a most effective body for destructive military operations, and explains not only the predominant position which they acquired in East Africa, but also the respect which they inspired and the extent to which their customs were imitated by other tribes. On the other hand, it probably also is the reason why they never founded any state or polity analogous to the kingdoms of Uganda and Unyoro. The centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship and desirous only of military glory. Retirement from this band of warriors as a chief was honourable, but seems to have been recognized as a removal to an inferior sphere of activity. The chiefs arranged the details of the raids which the warriors wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight.

The nearest approach to a central and superior authority among the Masai is the medicine man or Laibon (more correctly Ol-oiboni; see p. 324, &c.). They all belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and are said to be descended from a personage called Ol-le-Mweiya, who came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser sitting on the top of Mount Ngong. This was nine generations ago, the genealogy having been preserved. The influence of the

[1] The chief is elected from the warriors, but leaves their ranks at once and becomes an elder.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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The influence of the

791 medicine man is due to his supposed power of prophecy and
787 divination. No explanation is offered of this power, nor does it appear that the Laibons are believed to enjoy the acquaintance and assistance of definite spiritual beings; but they can foretell the future by such methods as throwing stones out of a horn, inspecting the entrails of slaughtered animals, interpreting dreams, and delivering oracles when intoxicated with honey wine. Great, however, as is their influence, it does not appear that either among the Masai or
[171] the Nandi, where similar institutions prevail, they have ever attempted to assume a position like that of the various small sultans of the coast or the kings to the west of Lake Victoria.

791 The most celebrated of these medicine men was Mbatian, the father of the present holder of the office, Lenana, who died about 1890. He is celebrated for having prophesied outbreaks of cattle plague and small-pox, which duly came to pass; and also for having foretold the arrival of white people. It is generally said that he bade the Masai be friendly to them, but Mr. Hollis could not find any corroboration of this statement. His death was followed by
173 a disputed succession. There is considerable discrepancy as to
791 the details of the story, but, according to the versions taken
662 down by Mr. Hollis (p. 327), Mbatian told his eldest son Sendeyo that on the morrow he would invest him with the insignia of a Laibon, of which the principal is an iron club. Lenana, the younger son, overheard, and presented himself before his father very early the next morning. Mbatian, who was very aged and had only one eye, behaved much like Isaac in similar circumstances, and gave his younger son the insignia, saying 'Thou shalt be great among thy brothers and among all the people.' In any case, Lenana succeeded,
791 and was accepted as Laibon by all the Masai except the Loita.
508 This created a division in the tribe, and as it roughly
619 corresponded with the division between British and German territory, Sendeyo was long regarded as the chief of the German Masai and Lenana of the British. But in 1902 Sendeyo quarrelled with the German administration, made his peace with his brother, and came over to the British Protectorate.

776 The religious ideas of the Masai, as collected by Mr. Hollis, are vague and unformulated. The commonest word for God is Eng-ai, which it will be observed is a substantive with a *feminine* article. Eng-ai appears to be used either quite indefinitely and impersonally of remarkable natural phenomena

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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we have here primitive and undeveloped religious sentiment where the personality of the deity is hardly separated from striking natural phenomena, or remnants of some old cultus of the heavenly bodies, mountains, and tribal deities preserved in a hazy way by a military race which had not paid much attention to religion.

The Masai believe that ordinary persons die like cattle, and they throw away their corpses to be eaten by hyenas[1], in the revoltingly unceremonious way common to many East African tribes. Medicine men, however, and influential people are buried, and their souls are said to pass into snakes, which are respected in consequence. Many tribes on the Nile also reverence snakes. It is noticeable that death and misfortune are not attributed to witchcraft. The Laibon is not the same as the Witch Doctor of the Bantu tribes, and it is no part of his duties to detect witches.

As the Masai men will practically do nothing but fight or tend cattle, they are naturally dependent on others for all articles, including their arms, which cannot be manufactured by women. There is among them a special tribe of smiths, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors and not allowed to marry Masai women. A somewhat similar tribe are the Dorobo or hunters.

It would appear that the military organization, the aversion to hunting, to eating game or vegetable food, and to engaging in agriculture or any productive art are peculiarities specially developed by the Masai, though some of them have been imitated by other tribes. Another peculiarity is the shape of their houses—long low buildings constructed of poles, grass, and mud, and divided into rooms by partitions. Their other customs, however, seem to tally with those of the Latuka, Bari, and Dinka, as far as differences of residence and occupation permit. Remarkable points of agreement are the nudity of the men, the shaven heads of the women, extraction of the middle teeth of the lower jaw, resting in a standing position on one leg, drinking the blood from living animals, and spitting as a sign of affection or benediction.

Linguistic evidence points the same way, though ampler and clearer information about the languages of the Nile is desirable for purposes of comparison. It is no want of respect to the labours of Sir H. Johnston and others to say that the researches of Mr. Hollis have for the first time

[1] It has been suggested that this practice may be due to a desire not to contaminate the earth by burial, but Mr. Hollis could find no trace of this idea, although he carefully inquired.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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[P. 260]

PART IV

'OROT OO-'L-MAASAE

DIVISIONS OF THE MASAI PEOPLE

619 101 The Masai race is divided into two sections, the one entirely pastoral and the other partially agricultural. The pastoral Masai call themselves Il-Maasae, whilst their brethren are known as 'L-Oikop or Il-Lumbwa.

101 614 634 The Masai are further divided genealogically into clans and families, and geographically into districts and sub-districts, as shown in the following tables:

Clans.	Families[1].
'L-Aiser.	'N-Gidoñgi (the medicine-man's horse), Il-Parkaneti (the counters?), Il-Loghumasa, Il-partimaro.
Il-Meñgana.	'L-Aitayok, 'Siria (the designs?), Il-Marumaa (the priers), Il-Makuperia (the flesh on the ribs).
Il-Mokesen.	Il-Mokesen-aata, Il-Partalalo (the long-sighted ones), Il-Tarteero, Il-Kiporon (the scars?)[2], Il-Tamp-Owuro (the lion-killers).
Il-Mólelyan.	Il-Mólelyan-aata, Il-Mamasita, Il-Pujoe, Il-Kipuytoi, Il-Mashóno, Il-Maañgua, Il-Mokorero.

Whenever representatives of the four clans take part in a raid, it is usual to refer to the Aiser and Meñgana clans as 'L-oodo-kiáki (the blood-red cattle), and the Mokesen and Mólelyan clans as 'L-oorook-kiáki (the black cattle).

101 634

Districts.	Sub-Districts.
Kaputiei or Kaptiei.	'L-oodo-kilani (the blood-red clothes), Matapato, Il-kikooneyokyo (the red trees[3]), Il-dale-le-kutuk (the fast talkers).
En-aipoaka (the lake).	Purko, Kisikop (the burning country?), Il-damat, 'L-oita.
Kisonga.	Maipo (the Pangani River), 'M-baashi (the valleys), 'K-ooneyokyo (the red soils), Em-boghoi (name of a tree[4] and light yellow), Il-isanyi (the mistaken).

[1] Some of these families are again divided into smaller sub-sections.

[2] The members of the family called Il-Kiporon are said to be snake-charmers and rain-makers.

[3] *Rubidia schimperiana*, Oliv.

[4] *Terminalia* sp.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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778 825 Esta oli en-gishúmi naji l-Tartéero l-aeuria lenye aanio. Naa, ten tarare ol-tuíguai loo-l-Tartéero ol-likae, pe molito, neipot l-aeuria lenyena, atjo: 'E-nile e-'ng-eji e-ptyo, talakunye!' Naa, ten eita ekwet lido-tarare, nepwéton, l-aeuria aeuny.

The Tarosero family have their own particular snakes, which are of many kinds; and when a member of this family fights with some one and gets the worst of the combat, he calls upon his snakes, and says: 'The avengers of my mother's house, come out!' If the man with whom he is fighting does not run away, the snake will come and bite him.

[414] Esta oli kulye-shomito l-aeuria lenye. Etii l-aeuria ooiber, netii l-ooyukye, netii oli l-ooyuri. Etii l-kulikae oosta en-dikí natii e-muet aasa ol-kila loo-l-mórue, nolber kulikae l-laghuny aasa ol-mórue kitok.

The other clans and families have their sacred snakes as well. Some are white in colour, others red, and others green. Some have a hood like an old-man's cloak, others again have white heads like very old people.

● [941] Eji oli esta l-olomuk l-kulenyena ootii ol-lenie.

The medicine-men are also said to have snakes, which they keep in their bags.

766 775 791 Niji ten tí kulikae-tuíguak kituak aasa 'M-Ibityany, ore pe enukuri, nepwo l-tauja lenye eng-ai.

It is believed that the souls of some big people like Mbatian[1] go to heaven after death and burial.

794 828 Ten eirura ol-tuíguai, nemelunki likae-tuíguai ainytye. Einytye ekiti, aasa eji: 'Elmiki meidim ol-tau lenye aisiniyunye, nék.'

A sleeping man must not be awakened suddenly. He must be roused gently, for it is thought that his soul may perhaps not return and he will die.

795 825 Eje l-Maasae natii l-menetye, aasa medai; kake eji ashi io-gishu, naa ten oldgurua 'n-gishu pikio e-wiji nabo, natji ashi il-menetye arukí ol-dwaro.

The Masai say there are no such things as ghosts because they do not see them. But it is supposed that cattle see them, and when a herd of cattle all gaze at one spot, they are said to be looking at either a ghost or a beast of prey.

[1] Vide p. 306.

1:Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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meiye she seje enke en-natoje el-oiloni.

Ore ten tuak el-oiloni en-gididig, pe eiti 'l-tuligunak ogwelua le'lag-oiloi, sejiki 'l-tuligunak: 'Alagua ogol, ano nainkuru 'a-gojak en-'l-tuligunak ogwelua nanak.' Kiyio ai ten ogwelua 'l-tuligunak le'l-nainkuru.

Ken, ten eloore el-oiloni en-diki, nemuro nailaiki 'l-tuligunak; enwiye too'a-gilaa-pusyaki, nainki il-tuligunak.

Anee el-oiloni ope ilj Kenya-Ilpiye, nilunaiki 'l-muran le-Kilepe nejeto ogwen en-jore, enwuy, ilje:

'Purpuri 'l-ailigak,
Kilepe tuaki,
Purpuri 'l-ailigak,
Kumuruito en-dalgati.'

Ilpiye 'l-muran le-Kilepe en-jore, otur il-Aiman, nainu e-muiyo en-'a-gilaa, nalee 'l-kulima.

Kiji: 'Kinkaiye en-ogwenije el-oiloni.'

Ore 'l-oiloonak pilkia il-Aiser, le'lag-eji en-'a-Gididigi, eji en-a'l-Oimonja nenki en-a'Ilgirinkiki. Ore Ol-Oimonja e Il-Ilgirinkiki 'a-gwen e'l-le-Kwalya.

not correct: they must wait until the medicine-man tells them that the event is about to happen.

If the medicine-man is going to prophesy by means of the buffalo or an hare, and there are people on the road, he tells those present that he will wait, as their feet will spoil his prophesy. They always know when people are coming, even if they are afar off.

When a medicine-man makes medicine, he gets drunk before he prophesies. He sings in parables, and the people reply.

For instance, when the medicine-man named The father of Ilpiye made medicine for the warriors of Kilepe before they went on a raiding expedition, he sang:

'The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
They will be looted by Kilepe.
The bulls that cannot move because they are so fat,
Half of them have been captured.'

The warriors of Kilepe went on their projected raid against the people of Kaire', and captured half of their cattle.

They said: 'Thus prophesied the medicine-man.'

All medicine-men belong to the Kidongi family of the Aiser clan, and they are the descendants of Ol-Oimonja or of Il-Ilgirinkiki', the sons of Ol-le-Kwalya'.

[787] [533] [787] [533] [79] [913]

[1] A small state near Kilima Njaro.
[2] The Somali.
[3] The son of sickness (?).

1

2

The principal Medicine-man of the Masai, Ol-Ônana, the son of M-Batyany; (1) wearing the cap of an official of the East Africa Protectorate, and carrying the iron poker; and (2) wearing native dress.

[Facing P. 346]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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791 Ore too-'l-oibonok pôkin Ol-Ônana ol-kitok lenya. Ninye egol il-Masane pôkin, nêjo ol-aiteriani lenya.

Of all the medicine-men Lenana is the greatest. All Masai acknowledge him as their lord and pay tribute to him.

791 173 Nêji Ol-Ônana en-gersi e-'M-Batyany, o 'M-Batyany en-gersi e-Supeet, o Supeet en-gersi e-Sitonik, o Sitonik en-gersi e-Kipepeta, o-Kipepeta en-gersi e-Parinyombe, o Parinyombe en-gersi e-Kidoñgui, o Kidoñgui en-gersi e-'Sigiriaishi.

It is said that Lenana is the son of Mbatian, who was the son of Supeet, who was the son of Sitonik, who was the son of Kipepeto, who was the son of Parinyombe, who was the son of Kidongui) who was the son of E-Sigiriaishi, the son of Ol-le-Mweiya.

791 793 614 Ore en-giterunoto oo-'l-oibonok nêji enotôki Ol-le-Mweiya eton te-'n-geper o-'l-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser ôtadûno te-'ng-ai. Netum il-Aiser, nêjo en-gersi amu oti nalaîg, nerik aîg, nenyoriki ol-oiboni, neiyamisho, netu 'n-gera.

The story of the origin of the medicine-men is said to be as follows: Ol-le-Mweiya came down from heaven and was found by the Aiser clan sitting on the top of their mountain[1]. He was such a small person that he was first of all believed to be a child. He was taken by the Aiser clan to their kraal, where it was discovered that he was a medicine-man. He married and had issue.

Ore etaa en-nôk, nêjôki 'n-gera enyena: 'Emindur te-'nne.' Ti-arâki naa nêja pe malam il-Aiser illo-doinyo.

When he was dying he said to his children: 'Do not move from this spot.' On account of this the Aiser clan do not go far from their mountain.'

791 787 Ore too-'l-oibonok pôkin li-epa 'M-Batyany ol-kitok.

Now, of all the medicine-men who lived in olden days Mbatian was the greatest.

Nêji epa eton eita epetun 'l-Aisungun kunna-kwapi, etiaka 'l-tuîgunak: 'Epetun akenya 'l-tuîgunak ooibor kullo-oibon.'

It is said that formerly, before Europeans ever came to these countries, he prophesied that white people would arrive.

Ore ali inna-kata eton eita

Again, before he died he told

[103] [1] Commonly known to Europeans as Ngong or Donyo Lemuyu. The Masai have three names for this mountain—Eng-odgo o-'n-bagasi (the eye or source of the Athi River), Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, and Ol-doinyo le-'l-le-Mweiya.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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áá, nájíki 'l-tuíganak: 'Endura, amu emuta 'n-gíshu. Ore en-dóki ninderitere sadol naa 'l-ojoíga ocán in-gík anaa 'l-étorok. Neiter áii 'l-chaíngit aai, neitóki taa 'n-gíshu.'

Nesipaya neuna pokirare: nepwtéu 'l-Aiseugua, ntíí 'n-gíshu.

Ore áá 'n-gíshu, ntíí áii ninye 'M-Batyany.

Ore etaa en-otíí, neipot il-paiyani le-Matapato, a ol-osho ótamanya, nájíki: 'Emindur to-'l-osho linyi, amu alo aá; nairiwaki 'ndae 'n-gíshu te-'ng-ai. Naa, tini indurudaru, niáá te-'mweiyan o-'l-minjaloi, nemuta 'n-gíshu pókin, niarare 'l-maíguti oogol, ntari 'ndae. Ore en-gurai ai naisho 'n-dókitin o-'l-oiboni, ninye ol-oiboni linyi. Endaas imbaa naajíki 'ndae.'

Nájíki 'l-paiyani pókin: 'Aiya,' nepwo.

Ore p' oidip aashom, neipot 'M-Batyany en-gurai enye kitok éji Sendéu, nájíki: 'Taytíku amu aiyóu náisho 'n-dókitin o-'l-oiboni.'

Nájo Sendéu: 'Aiya,' nalo sirura.

Ore éjókino kuuna, naníág Ol-Óuana oinduri ti-etwa ol-ale loo-'l-osho, neinyókóto tadókenya, nalo eng-éji e-menya, nájo: 'Papa, atua.'

the people to move their grazing grounds, 'for,' he said, 'all the cattle will die. You will first of all see flies which make hives like bees, then the wild beasts will die, and afterwards the cattle.'

Both of these prophesies have come true: the Europeans have arrived, and the cattle died.

Mbatian himself died while the cattle plague was raging (circa 1890).

When on the point of death, he called the elders of Matapato, the sub-district in which he lived, and said to them: 'Do not move from your country for I am about to die, and I will send you cattle from heaven. If you move, you will die of small-pox, your cattle will all perish, you will have to fight with a powerful enemy, and you will be beaten. I wish my successor to be the son to whom I give the medicine-man's insignia. Obey him.'

The elders said: 'Very well,' and left.

When they had gone, Mbatian called his eldest son Sendeyo[1], and said to him: 'Come to-morrow morning for I wish to give you the medicine-man's insignia.'

Sendeyo replied: 'Very well,' and went to lie down.

While this was taking place, Lenana, who had hidden himself in the calf-shed, overheard the conversation. He arose early in the morning and went to his father's hut. On his arrival he said: 'Father I have come.'

[1] Lenana is sometimes said to be the eldest son of Mbatian.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Ore'M-Batyany na ol-móruo kitok esta eng-oñgu nabo ake, nemelol en-gerai enye, nesibo 'n-dókitin o-'l-oiboni, aa ol-kuma le-'seghengei, o en-gidoñg, o ol-tulet, o embene, o 'n-doto e-'n-aibon,' nêjo: 'Iye oitore 'l-alashera linêno o ol-orere pôkin.'

Now Mbatian was very aged and he had only one eye. He therefore did not see which of his sons was before him and gave to Lenana the insignia of the medicine-man (the iron club and the medicine horn, the gourd, the stones[1], and the bag), at the same time saying: 'Thou shalt be great amongst thy brothers and amongst all the people.'

Lenana took the medicine-man's insignia and went away.

Ne'ya Ol-Ônana 'n-dókitin o-'l-oiboni, nelo.

Ore p' eidip sabêmo, nejiñg Sendêu eng-aji e-menye, nêjêkini: 'Ol-alashe lino o'yawa 'n-dókitin o-'l-oiboni.' Nagoro nalañg Sendêu, nêjo: 'Maitore ol-alashe lai, aarare oo metua.'

Sendeyo then went to his father, but was told that his brother had already been there and been given the medicine-man's insignia. When he heard this, he was very angry and said: 'I will not be subject to my brother; I will fight with him till I kill him.'

Ônana nêñ 'M-Batyany, nenukari to-'l-Doinyo Orok.

Mbatian died and was buried near Donyo Erok.

Ore p' eidip atua, nêjo kulikae-tuñgunak: 'Ol-Ônana ol-oiboni lañg, amu etiaka 'yuak 'M-Batyany, "Aisho 'n-dókitin o-'l-oiboni en-gerai ai nara ol-oiboni linyi."' Netoni te-idye saboitare Ol-Ônana.

When he was dead, some of the people proclaimed Lenana principal medicine-man, 'for,' they said, 'Mbatian told us that he would give the insignia of his office to whichever of his sons he wished should succeed him.' They therefore remained with Lenana.

Kake êjo kulikae: 'Mue ol-oiboni lañg elio, amu etelejisho.' Nepwo ninjo aarej Sendêu.

But others said: 'We will not acknowledge this man for he is a cheat,' and they threw in their lot with Sendeyo[2].

[1] It is possible that these stones, which according to tradition were brought many years ago from the north, may prove to be of some interest. It is asserted that no European has ever been allowed to behold them.

[2] This is the story as told by the Masai. The official version is that Lenana was chosen by the elders of most of the clans and districts on his father's death, but that Sendeyo refused to acknowledge him, and was

I: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Ore kuldo ooshōmo aaboitare Sendu, nemweiyu, nēā 'l-kumok, nemuta 'n-gishu enye, nēar ii 'l-Dachi. Ore kuldo oototo aaboitare Ol-Ōnana, neitu mweiyu, netum in-gishu, anaa n-netājo 'M-Batyany.

Nara Ol-Ōnana o Sendēu 'l-aria kumok, nēari Sendēu, nelōtu te-'lle-ari le-figole aaai ol-alare, neishori eton aaboita, neitayi o-sōtwa.

Ore ten etaa en-nēā Ol-Ōnana negelu en-gerai enye naiyūu en-aibon.

Ore en-dōki kitok to-'l-oiboni naa ol-kuma le-'seghengai. Ore ten eiriwaa ol-oiboni ol-kilikwai pe ejōki 'l-tafignak tōki, neiriwaa ol-kuma lenye pe enifig il-tafignak o-rorei lenye.

Naa ten ōosh ol-oiboni ol-tafigna to-'l-kuma le-'seg-

Now disease broke out amongst Sendeyo's people, many of whom died, their cattle all perished, and they were defeated by the Germans; whilst those people who remained with Lenana did not fall ill, and they obtained cattle, as Mbatian had predicted.

The two rivals waged war for many years, and eventually Sendeyo was beaten. He came in 1902 to beg his brother to allow him to live with him, and peace was concluded between the two parties.

Before Lenana dies he will select whichever of his sons is acquainted with the work of the medicine-men to succeed him.

The principal badge of the medicine-man's office is the iron club[1]. If the medicine-man sends a messenger to tell his people anything, he also sends his club so that it may be known that the message comes from him.

Should a medicine-man strike anybody with the iron club, that

supported by the 'L-oitai (i. e. the Masai of the 'L-oita sub-district, near Kilima Njaro), with whom he lived for many years. The warriors of the two parties frequently met in deadly strife, and raided each other's cattle. In 1902 Sendeyo gave up the hopeless conflict, and agreed to acknowledge his brother as chief. He now lives not far from Naivasha. Lenana himself says that he and his three brothers Sendeyo, Nellang, and Tolito were examined by their father a short time before the latter's death, and as he possessed a better knowledge of the work of the medicine-men than his brothers, he was given the iron club, &c., and chosen by the elders as Mbatian's successor.

[1] On one occasion the iron club was lost. A messenger was sent by Lenana to the Government authorities at Nairobi, and when crossing the Uganda Railway he was overtaken by a train. He jumped on one side and saved his life, but dropped the club, which was never found again. His office was taken for some years by a small iron poker, but another club has now been made.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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791 hengei, nemweiyu, nōă. Nāji
293 ĕoah 'M-Batyany il-tuñganak
[753] kumok to-'l-kuma lenye, neiteri nōă, neisho 'M-Batyany ol-chani, neishiu; kake mĕosh Ol-Ōnana 'l-tuñganak amu ol-tuñgani oirūbi.

person sickens and dies. It is said that Mbatian often struck people with his club, and waited until they were about to die, when he gave them medicine and cured them. Lenana, however, is a gentle man and does not kill people in this manner.

Il-kunōno.

463 Meiyūlo 'l-Maasae pōkin
326 áidoñgu 'remeta oo 'l-alema, kake en-gias oo-'l-kunōno, naa ninje ooidoñgu 'n-areta, nein-yañgu 'l-kulikae pōkin.

325 Ore 'n-dōkitin náidoñgishore 'l-kunōno to-'l-kōkwet naa o-soit, o ol-kirisiet, o ol-garamet, o en-gunei. Ore 'n-dōkitin náidoñgi naa 'l-tidii, oo 'n-dareta, oo 'n-dōluo, oo 'n-alulugani, oo 'n-areta, oo 'n-gulye-tōkitin.

Ore 'segbenge naaata too-'l-
[439] Ashumba einyañguni, araki eidoñg o-sinyai lo-'l-keju le-Matapato.

326 Metii en-gishōmi nemeata
564 'l-kunōno, kake nabo-kishōmi naata 'l-kunōno kumok, nāji inna-kishōmi 'l-Kipuyōni.

Meiyam il-kulikae-Maasae 'n-doiye oo-'l-kunōno, amu ājo

The smiths [1].

All Masai do not know how to make spears and swords; this is the work of the smiths. It is they who make the weapons, and the others purchase from them.

The smiths use in the forge a stone, a hammer, pincers, and bellows, and they make needles, bracelets, axes, anklets, weapons, and other things.

The iron which they work with they purchase from the Swahili, or they smelt the ore which they find in the bed of the Matapato river.

Every clan has its smiths; but there is one clan, the Kipuyoni, to which most men of this class belong.

The other Masai do not marry the daughters of the smiths, for it

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[1] The Kunene and Dorobe seem to hold much the same position among the Masai as the Tumaloda (smiths) and Ramis (hunters) among the Somali. No free Somali enters a smithy, or shakes hands with a smith; none takes a wife from this stock, or gives his daughter to a member of it. The Tumaloda are spread over the whole of Somaliland as the Kunene over Masailand, and no instance is known of them giving up the trade. Still more debased and poorer are the Ramis, who, like the Dorobe, live by hunting game. Cp. Ratzel, *The History of Mankind*, vol. ii, p. 494.

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these sections is evidenced at a superficial level by the adoption of a common tribal name. But members of a major section are more closely bound by their social, ceremonial and military relationships based on their common age-system. FOSBROOKE,[7] who did not consider the major territorial section as a unit of Masai territorial organisation, tries to explain as follows the Kisongo major section: "the majority of the Masai in Tanganyika regard themselves as Kissongo, but Kissongo is a very difficult term to define, for it is neither a sub-tribe, nor yet, strictly speaking, a section. The nearest definition is probably "that group of sections which follows the Mondul laibon".[8] See: below *laibon's* relationship to Masai social organisation. The early fieldresearchers, MERKER and HOLLIS, recorded the major territorial sections which they calle 'Provinzen' and 'Districts', respectively. MERKER,[9] gave their number as three: Kisongo, Loita and Ol Bruggo. HOLLIS,[10] counted five: Kaputiei (Kapite plains) En aiposha (Naivasha), Kisongo (south and West Kilimanjaro), Uasin Gishu and 'L-Aikipiak. He noted that the last two had practically ceased to exist. The point is also confirmed by S. L. HINDE.[11] The term *en-gop*, pl. *in-gwapi*, which HOLLIS translates as "the land, the country", seems to apply to these major sections. Their number corresponds, at present, to the linguistic groups we have reported.

The minor territorial section has been made the subject of special analysis by FOSBROOKE. He defines it as "a territorial unit of the Masai, the members of which regard themselves as owners of the waters and grazing grounds, to the exlusion of other sections. Such a unit is called *ol osho*, pl. *il oishon*. Alone or in groups the sections function as units in war, in allegiance to a particular *laibon*, and in performance of certain tribal ceremonies; in general they possess a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding members of other sections to a certain extent as strangers".[12]

The absence of definite geographical limits and the stress on water and grazing rights have been noted. The *laibon's*, or prophet,

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[7] FOSBROOKE, *An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System*, in *T. N. and R.*, 1948, p. 9.

[8] See below laibon's relationship to Masai social organisation.

[9] MERKER, *Die Masai: ethnographische Monographie eines ostafrikanischen Semitenvolkes*, Berlin 1904, p. 8.

[10] HOLLIS, *The Masai*, Oxford 1905, pp. 280, 290.

[11] HINDE, *The Last of the Masai*, London 1901, pp. 91, 97.

[12] FOSBROOKE, l. c., pp. 7 ss.

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position in connection with the nature of the major and minor territorial sections is questionable. FOSBROOKE has put into evidence the marginal significance of the *laibon* for Masai social organisation. He has also shown how wrong it is to ascribe to the prophet's institution a political function. The prophet can only obtain a personal political influence which is his, and not of his office. Now, to describe the *laibon's* institution as the point of allegiance of territorial sections' members is tantamount to making the prophet a central political authority which he is certainly not. The important point in the nature of the territorial sections is members' consciousness of their strength and sufficiency as to be entitled to keep tribal ceremonies of their own.[13] In studying the Laitayok minor section FOSBROOKE brings that home: "in some areas they (the Laitayok) have been absorbed by the section amongst whom they resided, and thus eventually they came to be regarded as a clan; in other areas they were sufficiently numerous to enable them to retain their own grazing grounds, and to justify their holding tribal ceremonies of their own". FOSBROOKE insists on the fortuitous origin of the territorial minor sections. The point becomes obvious if the nomadism of the Masai and the absence of any centralised authority are kept in mind. People remain in a definite place only for as long as [221] they find good grazing and water for their cattle, but they move as soon as these fail, thus breaking up their territorial allegiance.

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The following is a tentative list of minor territorial sections deducted from the literature:

SAMBURU.	1. Pusigishu	4. L'Orogishu	7. Longeli
	2. Masola	5. Doiju	8. Nyabarei
	3. Lukumai	6. Mwesi	9. Loimusi

NJAMUSI. According to DUNDAS,[14] there are only two villages: Njemps Kubwa or Njemps Liabori – down stream; and Njemps Ndogo or Njemps Lekepir – up stream.

KAPITI.	1. Kaputiei or Kapiti	3. Ladokilarsi	6. Purko
		4. Kakonyuke	7. Loita
	2. Damat	5. Dalalakotok	8. Matapatu

[13] One should note here that tribal ceremonies are ceremonies connected with the institution of age-sets, a fact which sheds light on the integrating power of the age-system. See BERNARDI, *The age-system of the Nilo-Hamitic Peoples*, in *Africa*, 22, 1952, pp. 316 ss.

[14] DUNDAS, *Notes on the Tribes inhabiting the Baringo district*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 1910, p. 49.

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the Central Council being the Appeal Court. In the thirties, the system was again modified, and there are now two regularly constituted tribunals in each of the two Kenya Districts, Narok and Kajiado, in the Masai reserve, and an Appeal Tribunal in each district. It Tanganyika changes came later. Only in 1938 the Paramount Chief was abolished and a new system introduced. There is now a Masai Council, acting as the Appeal Court from the six Local Courts established under the authority of a Headman. Lord HAILEY, commenting on the Tanganyika system, remarks that "the whole of the juridical organisation seems on a tentative basis, and in practice it functions irregularly, owing to the nomadic habits of the people". This is more or less true also for Kenya. It is a fact that, in Kenya and Tanganyika, the Masai never accepted the authority of the *laibon* or prophet in terms of Paramount Chief, and that they dislike the idea of a formally established court. [1] Nomadism, as Lord HAILEY points out, has much to do with this attitude of the Masai, but it is their social structure which has no place for such institutions. Whatever political authority exists among the Masai, it is established on the structural basis of the age-system. This system has a dynamic character which can hardly be reconciled with the rigidity of any administrative system imposed from above by the Governement.

The institution of the Masai prophet has been described by FOSBROOKE, p. 13. He distinguishes three types of *laibon*. "First there is the private practitioner who, for suitable remunerations, will perform such service as curing sickness, removing barrenness and ensuring fidelity in wives. He is only consulted by individual patients. The next stage is when a private practitioner has acquired such a reputation that he is consulted by a deputation on behalf of a group of Masai, and provides charms and lays down a ceremonial to be utilized to the advantage of the whole group. Such prac-

[1] Writing of the Native Authority System in Kenya after 1918, Lord HAILEY says in *Native Administration in the British African Territories*. Part I — *East Africa: Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika*, London 1950, p. 171, "these Tribunal were not generally recognized by the Masai who preferred that such issues as arose between them should be settled in the customary manner by the Headman or Elders". *And with regard to the more developments do occur*, p. 178, that "the preference for referring cases to the arbitration of local headmen or elders persists". He makes a similar comment for Tanganyika on p. 394: "in the Masai District the majority of the issues arising between the tribesmen are settled by arbitration".

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756 tices are alleged to be efficacious for the above-mentioned complaints,
791 and may also prove useful in procuring success in war, adequate rainfall, or immunity from disease, both human and bovine. Such a laibon of course retains his private practice. The final stage is when a laibon is invited to superintend and bless ceremonials affecting the whole tribe, such as circumcision, promotion of warriors, standing down, etc. Such a one retains the duties of the two previous stages, and is in fact the Chief Medicine Man of the section or tribe. This is the status which the term laibon popularly connotes." Therefore, it is clear first that the prophet is essentially a private practictioner, and secondly that his promotion to the higher stages of the practice derive primarily from his personal skill and good luck which give him reputation and, hence, influence on tribal matters. It is significant, however, that the prophet, even when he has reached the highest stage "retains the duties of the two previous stages", in other words, he does not cease to be a private practitioner. Therefore, the title "Chief which FOSBROOKE also uses, does not properly describe the prophet's office and makes it Medicine Man", more formal than it really is. [86] It is for the same over-formalisation that our early authorities and the Administration were misled in the evaluation of the prophet institution. [87]

III – PRELIMINARIES TO THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-CLASS

561 The age-system of the Masai consists essentially in a structure of age-classes distinguished from one another in terms of seniority. An age-class is instituted as the final result of a long course of initiation ceremonies, performed during an official approved time.

The age-class must be distinguished from other minor groups such as the age-units. These are formed at different stages of the initiation course as intermediate steps to the establishment of the age-class. The age-class follows from the merging and unification of two age-units.

The Masai term for age-class is *old aje*, pl. *il ajijik*; for age-unit, *ol porov*, pl. *il porov*. [1] These terms are frequently rendered into

[114] [86] Indeed FOSBROOKE is unable to decide wether the laibon is the chief medicine man of the section or tribe.

[87] See also below, and on the relationship of the prophet-institution to the structure of the age-system as a whole see BERNARDI, l. c., pp. 333, 331.

[1] MERKER, l. c., pp. 70 ss.; HOLLIS, l. c., pp. 333, 341 ss.; LEAKY, l. c., pp. 191 ss.; FOX, l. c., p. 449; FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 35.

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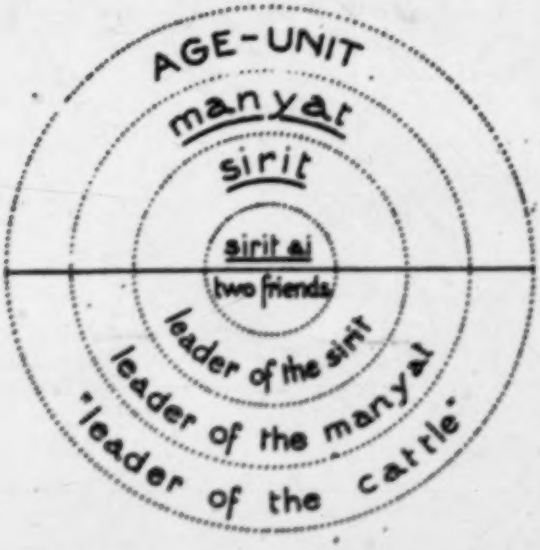
important to note their temporary and personal function. In this connection one should also noth that, however complex the organisation of the age-unit may appear, its character and nature is entirely democratic. The importance of the *ingobir* as a council to the *sigwenan* has never been stressed sufficiently. Although their office is not very well defined, it is a fact that they may exercise a real control over the leaders of the age-unit whom they have power to degrade. [164]

The following diagram illustrates the internal structure of the age-unit.



VIII – THE FUNCTION OF THE AGE-UNIT

The most apparent function of the age-unit is military. This is also the aspect stressed by all our authorities, so much so that it is commonly stated that the function of the age system is military. [165] The evidence we have just analysed suggests a somewhat different description.

We have already noted that the initiates do not become war-

[164] The relationship of the prophet, laibon, to the structure of the age-unit and age-class is illustrated below in connection with the latter.

[165] Cf. for all others FOSBROOKE, l. c., p. 32: "The basic function of the age-grade system is doubtless military".

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respect by all his age-mates. It appears that there is only one such officer for the whole class as there is a single performance of the *ngeherr* proper.

XI – THE PROPHET AND THE INSTITUTION OF THE AGE-CLASS

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"There can be little doubt", writes Fosbrooke,[176] "that at this time (i. e., in pre-European times) a *laibon*'s chief functions were: i. dispensing charms for raids; ii. supervising and blessing the age grade ceremonies; iii. propounding the ritual and giving charms for local ceremonies, concerned with fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with rainfall".

He also remarks,[177] that "although the supervision of the age-grade ceremonies has been recorded as an important function of the *laibon*, this activity is subject to curious restrictions, the principle of which I have been unable to ascertain".

It seems to me, on the basis of the foregoing analysis, that the function of the prophet in connection with the institution of the age-units and the age-class is marginal and secondary to the authority of the *piron*-elders, and that it possesses a wholly ritual value. The authority of the prophet does not find a proper place in the structure of Masai age-system. This system is the principle which restricts his activity.

Whenever one of the inititation ceremonies is held, a delegation of the *piron*, both elders and candidates, approaches one of the prophets for his blessing. According to Fosbrooke's information it does not matter whether the sought prophet is a prophet of the territorial section where the ceremony is performed or of another section or even an "unofficial" *laibon*.[178] The same con-

[176] Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 15.

[177] Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 17.

[178] Fosbrooke, l. c., p. 17. The passage continues as follows: "For instance the *Ngeherr* or passing out ceremony of the *Dareto* age-set (class) of the Kimoogo section was nominally held under Parrit, and the *Uaete* or promotion ceremony of the *Kisale* age (age-unit) under Mbeiya, who were respectively the ruling *laibon* at the material times. But in fact an old Kikuyu adopter of the Eagidong clan, one Lolkokwa ole Kashunga (now deceased) was called to assist in both these ceremonies. By agreement the Mondul *laibon received* the fees in respect of these ceremonies from the Banorera and Kibaya areas, whilst those contributed by the Mondul and Longido Masai went to Lolkokwa at Bisil, Kenya Colony. In another case, Sangoyan, *laibon* of the Kisale age for the Matapato and Loldokilani sections, which are nominally under Kimaruai".

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tact with a prophet is established before a raid. All these delegations are expected to pay the prophet a number of cattle contributed by the age-set's members they represent. The responsibility for collections of this kind is one of the main duties of the leaders.[179]

The authority and the influence of the prophet do not extend beyond these contacts. The elders alone are responsible for the organisation of the initiation ceremonies and hence for the institution of the age-class.

However, in his description of the *laibon* FOSBROOKE assumes too much. He writes,[180] "On evidence which need not be recorded here, it seems certain that the Masai, whose age grade custom so closely approaches that of the Galla, were possessed of their present military organisation prior to leaving their original home.[181] Thus it appears that the *laibon* is a later adaptation imposed on a self-sufficient organisation of government through age-grades. Probably much of the confusion of function which exists today, the indefinite division of governmental authority between the *laibon* and the age-set leaders, is due to the adoption of an institution (namely, the *laibon* hood, B. B.) incompatible with the original culture. It would be wrong to regard the institution as being foreign to Masai nature, but it is probably true that it is a feature which had not found its true level in the tribal structure when European influence intervened".

The assumption that the Masai age-system is related to the Galla age-system is frequently taken for granted but up to the present, nothing definite has been ascertained on this point.[182] On the basis of our present analysis we agree with FOSBROOKE's conclusion on the secondary character oft he prophet's function in the institution of the age-class.[183] But we find it difficult to agree with him when he states that "the age grades" have been the channel through which the *laibon* institution came to be established as an

[179] It frequently happens, remarks FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 18, that the contributor does not know exactly the reason for his contribution. *Of course he relies entirely on his leader.*

[180] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 18.

[181] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 3, "lying between Lake Rudolf and Kenya Highlands".

[182] On this point, see BERNARDI, *l. c.*, p. 314, fn. 2.

[183] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 18: "But he (the prophet) is not responsible for the organisation of such matters (i. e. *Eunoto* and *Ngokwe* ceremonies) nor is it on his initiative that new ages commence or hold come stand down".

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561 institution of Masai culture. We are much inclined to think on
• 79 different lines. The office of the prophet is essentially a ritual office.
[114] His true power derives from his ritual value. It seems evident from the preceding analysis that Masai political and social structure is primarily based on the age-system. We think that it is solely for this system that the *laibon* did not entirely succeed in invading the political field and usurping the authority of the elders.

That the function of the prophet is essentially foreign to the age system is a fact which the present analysis may also have helped to make evident. The conclusion arrived at by FOSBROOKE on "the incompatibility" of the *laibon* institution "with the original cul-
[114] ture" of the Masai is one that could only be properly reached after an historical and critical study of Masai ritual and religious institutions and not merely from a survey of their political and social institutions.

XII – THE RELATIONSHIP OF CLASS-MEMBERS [1]

561 A strong bond of solidarity is felt by all members of a class.
574 Such feeling is primarily due, as is natural, to the mere fact of belonging to the same social body. Other factors, such as a more or less equal age and the contemporaneous performance of essential initiation ceremonies give substantial cause for a feeling and bond of that kind. That such a bond is strong and effective is clearly shown by Masai hospitality customs. They show also what force of cohesion springs from the age-system structure. Any class-member has a right to stay and live at the house of any of his age-mates. While he is a stranger to the place, he is not a stranger to his age-mate for they are members of the same class. The latter cannot refuse him, otherwise he would be cursed by his own class. This
[526] cursing power of the age-class is very significant to our present purpose. It shows the authority and power possessed by the class for keeping its structural cohesion and for defending itself from any disruptive attack. [2]

[1] *Merker, l. c., p. 47; Hollis, l. c., p. 289; Fox, l. c., p. 288.*

[2] Masai hospitality customs are best described by Hollis, l. c., pp. 287 s. Translating, as he does, direct Masai accounts, he writes: "When a Masai goes to other kraals to pay a visit, he does not on his arrival enter a hut unless he knows the owner, for if he belongs, for instance, to the *Aimer* age, he must not enter the hut of one of the *Kishamo* age, as he does not belong to this age. He will ask where the huts of the members of the *Aimer* age are, and when he

An important factor in the tribal system of the Masai is the presence of medicine-men whose duties are in general connected with the divination of future events, with the administration of drugs, and with the practice of witchcraft. There appear to be three grades of medicine-men, whose sphere of influence are divided into these three categories, but, for practical purposes, it is only necessary to consider the position of the first grade, represented by the person of the Laibon, or "Ol-oiboni," who is the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe. The history of the Laibons is recorded in Mr. Hollis' book on the Masai, pp. 324-330, and it is unnecessary to enter into it here, but it may be mentioned that Ilutian, who died about 1890, and Lenana, his son and successor, acquired such great influence over all sections of the Masai that the position of Laibon came to be regarded by certain of the European officers who had not carefully investigated the facts of the case, as synonymous with that of a paramount chief. It does not appear, however, that the Laibons have ever attempted to assume a position resembling that of kings of native tribes, and the appointment by Government of Lenana, and, at his death, of his son Seggi, to the office of Paramount Chief of the Masai was, in fact, the result of a misunderstanding of the normal state of affairs which steps have now been taken to rectify. The medicine-men. The Laibons.

The pressure displayed by the pastoral Masai "Morans" in raids on surrounding tribes combined with their ceaseless activity in following this pursuit made their name dreaded throughout East Africa and hindered for many years the passage of caravans by the direct route from Uganda to the Coast. When eventually European penetrated the highlands of British East Africa, they found the Masai with their flocks and herds scattered over a wide area. The story of how they were eventually concentrated in one reserve is told in Chapter III., but it is necessary to draw attention here to the effect which this concentration, combined with the introduction of veterinary skill and the cessation of raiding by and against them, had on the Masai. In 1904, before any administrative limit had been placed on the movements of the tribe, it was estimated that the Masai possessed 50,000 head of cattle. In 1911, 80,000 head were said to be in the Northern Reserve alone, and this estimate was subsequently increased to 200,000 when the raids which were attempting to move south had been more thoroughly examined. 50,000 head of cattle moved south in 1911, but in the final move from Laikipia in 1912 and 1913, nearly 300,000 head were counted. By March 1914 all the Masai herds being located in one reserve, the total estimate for the tribe had leaped up to 600,000 and the number of cattle in the possession of the Masai is now supposed to be in the neighbourhood of three-quarters of a million. These latter figures are the estimates of Mr. R. W. Hemsted, who has been the Officer-in-Charge of the Masai Reserve for more than five years, and, in spite of the objection taken by the Masai on superstitious grounds to the counting of their cattle, they must be taken to be substantially accurate. It is scarcely reasonable to suppose that the earlier figures, particularly the first two mentioned, are in any way so exact, but, after allowances have been made for this, it is obvious that an enormous increase in stock has taken place. In addition to this cattle, the Masai are said to possess something over two million sheep and ten thousand donkeys. The stock-carrying capacity of the 14,000 square miles included within the borders of the Masai Reserve, is limited to a certain extent by the aversion shown by the natives to grazing cattle in areas which from past experience they believe to be infected by disease, and, in parts of the Reserve, land which appears to be admirably suited for stock remains untenanted on that account, no attempt having been made to utilise veterinary skill and treatment in rendering their cattle immune from the disease. With the exception of these areas the Reserve may fairly be said to be stocked to its fullest capacity, and the Masai, who number all told about 45,000 souls, possess capital to an average amount of rather more than £110 per head. They are thus, in all probability, the richest uncivilised tribe in the world. It is not surprising, therefore, considering their conception of manual labour as degrading, the limitations of their personal requirements and their immense wealth in livestock, to find that they are unwilling to work for wages as do the members of other tribes. Their natural diet is meat and milk, both of which they have in plenty, and they can procure any other food or commodity they desire by sale or barter of stock. The Masai as stockowners.

On the 1st of July, 1890, the remainder of the British sphere between the Zanzibar and Uganda boundaries and the Tana River and German frontier was placed under Her Majesty's protection, and this area, together with those Protectorates which had previously been established on this part of the East Coast, were fused into one administrative whole under the title of the "East Africa Protectorate." The western boundary of the Protectorate in the Masai country was the Kedong River, and while Laikipia was in the East Africa Protectorate, Baringo, Njemps, Nakuru, Elmenteita and Naivasha were situated in Uganda. East Africa Protectorate. 195 248*

In November, 1895, a large caravan consisting of some 1,600 Swahilis and Kikuyu was set up by the Masai in the Kedong Valley on its return from Eldama Ravine, to which place it had been sent on Government duty. Nearly all the Swahilis lost their lives but a fair number of the Kikuyu escaped and reported the incident to Mr. Gilkison, the officer in charge of Fort Smith. Mr. Ainsworth, the Sub-Commissioner, left Machakos for Fort Smith and he, together with Mr. (now Sir Frederick) Jackson, who hurried there from Naivasha, conducted an enquiry into the matter, at which it was established that the Swahilis were the aggressors, the headmen having taken two girls from a Masai kraal. These had been handed back as a result of representations made by the Masai, but a renewed attempt to capture them had been made the following morning before the caravan started on its journey. This attempt was unsuccessful but a shot was fired in the village which killed a cow, and the Masai attacked the caravan as a retaliatory measure. Kedong massacre.

Mr. Andrew Dick, an English trader who was travelling in the neighbourhood in company with two Frenchmen at the time of the massacre, attacked the Masai and succeeded in capturing them from a number of cattle, but he was killed by the Masai in his retreat up the Kikuyu Escarpment. Mr. Andrew Dick.

As a result of the enquiry into these two incidents it was held that the Masai had been acting under such provocation that no great punishment was necessary. They had lost a considerable number of men in their encounter with Mr. Dick, and the only punishment that it was considered necessary to inflict was the confiscation of the cattle that had been captured from them by Mr. Dick, which cattle were paid to the relatives of the Kikuyu who had lost their lives in the massacre as compensation for the loss sustained.

One important result followed the "Kedong Massacre." Lenana, the Masai Laibon, who had for some time expressed his intention of visiting the Governor's office at Fort Smith, had overcome the reluctance shown by his followers, and had actually arrived at that station just before the news of the massacre reached Mr. Gilkison. There he was instructed to stay until an enquiry had been held, but when the result of the enquiry was known he was so impressed with the impartial hearing given to the Masai witnesses, and with the justice of the decision, that he vowed allegiance to the British Government, a vow which he faithfully kept. British justice on this occasion gained the friendship of the most powerful man in the Masai tribe, and rendered his influence warmly loyal to the administration from that day to the day of his death. Lenana's vow. 195 248* 991

The Masai in the East Africa Protectorate were situated in the Province of Ukamba, of which they occupied the southern portion, and inhabited the district known as the Kenia or Kikuyu District. The following extract is taken from Sir Arthur Hardinge's "Report on the Condition and Progress of the East Africa Protectorate from its Establishment to the 30th of July, 1897," and once again describes the tribes position of the Masai at that time: Sir Arthur Hardinge's report. 195 248*

"The Masai consist of two entire tribes, the Naivasha or Kisonguro Masai, whose King or Chief is Lenana, and of the broken remnants of seven other tribes, the Dogoshoi, Sholos, Lagoroit, Matapatos, Kortilosi, Gilisumbu and Keyoo Masai, who, after long terrorising the whole country have at last been defeated and broken up by the superior force of the Wakamba and Wa-Kikuyu and, having lost their old military organisation utterly shattered, have accepted, and to a great

F648 1915 Sir Charles Eliot report

In his report on the East Africa Protectorate, dated the 10th of June, 1905, Sir Charles Eliot describes the Masai as "perhaps the most remarkable people in East Africa. . . . . The greater number are still warlike nomads, who roam about over the Rift Valley and the plains between Kilima Njaro and Naivasha. . . . .

"The spread of law and order has somewhat curtailed their exploits, but the men are still all warriors by profession. . . . . .

"The Masai are found in both German and British territory. When the last Chief, Batyan, died, a dispute arose between his sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, as to the succession, and the tribe was divided. The former is now recognised as Chief of the Masai in the British sphere, and the latter of those in the German. Sendeyo has several times had trouble with the German authorities, but has always been defeated. Fortunately for us, Lenana's brother again advised him that he had better make peace with the white men, because they were irresistible, and he has proved our best friend and ally among the natives. In return, he receives 20 Rs. a1, a month, which is a very moderate stipend for a monarch of such considerable power, both real and imaginary. Though I see no reason to anticipate that Lenana will change his present attitude, I regard the Masai as the most important and dangerous of the tribes with whom we have to deal in East Africa, and I think it will long be necessary to maintain an adequate military force in the districts which they inhabit."

[illegible]

At this date, the Masai in the East Africa Protectorate had been placed in a district of their own, called the Masai-land District, whose headquarters were at Naivasha.

Inclusion of Uganda Province in East Africa Protectorate

By an Order of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, dated the 6th of March, 1902, the Kisumu and Naivasha Provinces of the Uganda Protectorate were included in the East Africa Protectorate, and the Naivasha Masai therefore came under the control of the latter Protectorate.

Uganda Railway.

The construction of the Uganda Railway was commenced in 1896, and the line reached the Lake in 1901. Throughout the construction period the Masai gave no trouble whatsoever to the workers on the line.

Sir Charles Eliot's report, April, 1905

In his report on the East Africa Protectorate, dated the 10th of April, 1905, Sir Charles Eliot writes:—

"I agree with those who do not think the Masai are a formidable element in East Africa. It would, of course, be unwise to irritate them, and there is always some danger of misunderstandings in dealing with a people of whose language we are profoundly ignorant. But it appears to me that, even within the last year, the Masai have become more amenable. They have taken to wearing cast blankets, and the astonishing exhibitions of nudity, which were common a year ago, are now comparatively rare. Lenana even wears a greatcoat and is one of the judges at the Naivasha cattle show."

[illegible]

Later in his report he writes:— "The troops, which are under the direct management of the Military Department of the Protectorate, form the 3rd Battalion of the King's African Rifles. . . . . One company at Naivasha is composed of Masai. There is no doubt of the warlike qualities of the [illegible] for service in a disciplined army. Colonel Hamilton's last report on their capabilities is, however, very favourable, and his only criticism on them is that they cannot stand service on the coast. There are many advantages in employing the Masai as soldiers and police, for they are little disposed to quarrels, and if we can effectively stop their present occupation of cattle raiding, we must give them something else to do. In some ways they answer very well: they are extraordinarily active, and have better notions of honour and loyalty than most tribes, but it would clearly be rash to trust too much to Masai troops and Masai police in Mombasa."

Inform Mr. Clifford, the District Commissioner of their decision. They said that, as their Ladies wished them to move, they were ready to go if the Governor ordered them to do so, but that they did not wish to leave Ludgate. As the war their determination, no attempt was made to influence them, no pressure was put upon them, and the subject was not again broached to them.

On March 7th, 1911, Lemana died. He had been suffering from dysentery for a month, but was getting better, when he suddenly collapsed. The Assistant District Commissioner in charge of the Northern Maori Reserve, Mr. Cross-Hand, was with him a few hours before his death, and discussed various minor questions with him. Lemana did not nominate his successor, as in the cases with the Maori Ladies, for he only realized a short time before he died, that the last hour had come, but, when he felt he was dying, he made the following speech in the presence of numerous witnesses:—

"Tell the Government to look after my children and to give them the money which I should have earned if I had been alive. Tell my people to obey the Government as they have done during my life. Tell the Ludgate Maori to move with their cattle to the Lake Plains."

April 2nd was fixed upon as the date for a meeting with the Maori representatives of both the Northern and Southern Reserves in order to select a successor to Lemana. Maihewhi, the senior elder of the Northern Maori, was too unwell to proceed to Epsing, but he delegated his powers to two of the members of his clan. Legislator, with the other heads of the clans and the spokesmen of the various sub-grades from the Northern and Southern Reserves, were present, and the proceedings were watched on behalf of the Government by Mr. Lees, Provincial Commissioner of Naivasha, Mr. Hollis, Secretary for Native Affairs, and Mr. Cross-Hand. Nagil, Lemana's eldest surviving son, a youth of thirteen years of age, was unanimously chosen as Ladies. Owing to his youth, it was decided to appoint two Regents to assist him in governing his people, one for the Southern and one for the Northern Reserve. Nguruva, a cousin of Lemana, was selected as Regent for the south, and Legislator for the north. When these nominations were completed, Legislator stated, on behalf of the Northern Maori, that he wished to ask that they might be permitted to move to the extended Northern Reserve. This change of opinion was undoubtedly due partly to the dying wishes of Lemana and partly to a fear of disruption between the two sections of the tribe. On the other representatives expressing a like request, the Maori were informed by their Provincial Commissioners that they would have to proceed to Nairobi and approach the Governor personally on the matter.

Sir Percy Girouard held a meeting with the Maori representatives on April 3rd, 1911, in Nairobi. Legislator, as spokesman of the Northern Maori, again stated that it was their wish to move to the extended Northern Reserve. The Governor answered that, if the move were to take place, it must be a voluntary one, that the Maori were completely free to accept or reject the proposed arrangements, and that, if they did reject it, the pledges made to them by the Government in 1904, would be scrupulously adhered to. They thereupon replied that it was their own wish that they might be allowed to move. A formal treaty was drafted, and another meeting was held on April 4th. The members of the Executive Council and the Provincial Commissioners were summoned, and, in the presence of all, the Governor asked the Maori whether or not they wished to move to the extended Northern Reserve. The reply was again in the affirmative. Several minor points were then discussed, Legislator acting as spokesman. The principal matter was the water question. The Maori stated that, if the Government would help to improve the water supply, they themselves would contribute towards the work by the payment of hut-tax. They requested that all Europeans should be removed from the area, and that as much as possible of the area known as "The Promised Land," which had been applied for by Mr. Percy Cobb, should be given to them. Protection from possible Boer raids was asked for and granted. Finally, the Maori begged to be allowed to move the move as soon as they were sufficient grass along the route, and asked that their wishes might be learned. They were informed in reply, that the move was contingent on the approval of the

character and great reputation as a medicine-man, but even his influence does not extend throughout the Fiche and Lake divisions. The Council provides even for Fiches who possess a certain measure of authority, but these have proved the only instances where respect is given and the respect shown to them rests in the chiefs entirely on the personalities of the individual possessors and not on the system which they represent.

The population of the Shoni Reserve numbers not much more than 10,000 of whom the great majority are Shoni, but which also includes a considerable number of Ijaw or Ijaw-like Ukoyo. The indigent Ijaw left by the Shoni pacification parties considerable attraction for the neighbouring Ukoyo, who being less wealthy, are under the necessity of performing agricultural and manual labour owing to their poverty or an abnormal lack. For many years, the Ukoyo and Ijaw have engaged in trade, and many have taken employment, they have had ample opportunities for intercourse. We actually have evidences of an ally illegitimation of individuals from Ukoyo to Shoni, poverty have been of not infrequent occurrence and the Shoni Reserve therefore contains many mixed units, mostly among the divisions known as the Kapaipai and O Dele Lakiraki.

The policy of the Government in dealing with the native tribes in the Port Harcourt Protectorate has been to develop their agricultural resources and industry and to discourage unproductive forestry pursuits. This policy has been pursued with success among the Kwomanka, Ukoyo and other tribes who, when encountered by the administration were under the necessity of engaging in agriculture and have been introduced with fair results into the systems of such pastoral tribes as the Ibani and Luwiwa, but with the Shoni it has been a total failure. Though encouragement has always been given, the Shoni have shown no inclination to cultivate, and in the only recent cases where gardens have been prepared as the instigation of Shoni owners, the labour employed was drawn from the Ukoyo tribe.

The increased activity in recruiting natives as workers for the Cameroons was accentuated by the military situation in March and April, 1915, led to the emigration of a number of Ukoyo from their own country into the Shoni Reserve, and these emigrants, with a view to remaining residents, signed agreements to work as servants for Indians, Soudis and Shoni. Colonel Ainsworth, then Military Commissioner for Labour, represented that, while such evasions of their duties were highly reprehensible in regard to the employment with Indians and Soudis, any system which abstained of Ukoyo working for Shoni was open to the gravest objections on both administrative and economic grounds. The question of such Ukoyo emigration to the Shoni Reserve and elsewhere was discussed in Executive Council in June, 1915, and was referred to the Chairman of the Special Committee appointed to consider the "Southern Nigerian Bill," but no decision on the matter has yet been reported.

In view of the general desirability of discouraging such emigration of Ukoyo natives, the policy has been adopted in the Shoni Reserve of preserving all Ukoyo living in that reserve who cannot claim by long residence to circumstances rights to have become Shoni, and of returning them to their own country. This policy applies to the cases of all those Ukoyo who have joined the Shoni since the move from Lakiraki. Efforts have also been made to register all Ukoyo who [illegible]

An important step in the evolution of the system of Shoni administration was undertaken early in 1916, when the various matters connected with the personality of the Judge, the Acting Governor recommended that the office of Paramount Chief of the Shoni should be abolished.

In the time of Lawson's death, in 1911, Pepple was still a boy, and control over the Shoni was exercised by the two regents, Egerton and Langdale. When Pepple came of age and succeeded the duties assigned to him in the capacity as Paramount Chief, he was given an allowance which has proved himself to be totally unsuitable. His natural energy, ambition and moral courage - he was irresponsible and unscrupulous - he appeared to regard any administrative function as an

enforcement duty and to look to the Government to assist for him his position as the Paramount Chief of the tribe without resorting in return any effort or energy on his part. The Ngaitonga, of which division he was a member, and which was one of the smallest divisions in the tribe, acknowledged him as their chief, but the Parku, the most important division in the reserve, regarded him with open contempt, while the Lolia, Hoia and other divisions did not recognise him at all, and he refused to attempt to assert his authority over them. The position was, therefore, that the Government stood alone in recognising Poggi as the Paramount Chief of the Maoni, and that, as such, he was of very little use to the administration.

Lolima

A complication arose in this connection by the practice which had previously been followed of regarding the Chief Lolima or medicine-man of the Maoni as the Paramount Chief. Lemana, the father of Poggi, had been the Chief Lolima and in functions as such had been to arrange the rainfall, direct raids, provide medicine in connection with various ceremonies and to undertake other duties of this description. Subordinate to him there had been the medicine-men of the various sections. When, about 1908, the Government began to establish closer relations with the Maoni, Lemana had evinced a strong tendency to friendship and had personally been to a great extent responsible for the good feeling which came into existence. The administrative officers at that time, not being fully conversant with the constitution of the tribe, had been inclined to look upon Lemana, not only as the chief medicine-man, but as the Paramount chief also, and as time went on this dual authority came to be generally accepted as in accordance with Maoni tradition. Further, in consequence of the absence during his lifetime of adequate Government control over the administration of the tribe, it had been essential to support someone who could keep the Maoni in order and to grant him more or less autocratic powers. In fact, however, the tribal organization of the Maoni does not provide for such a position as that of paramount chief, and the influence which Lemana had exercised over the tribe had been due solely to his position as the Chief Medicine-man which his astuteness and strength of character had helped him to magnify.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Government officially recognised Lemana as paramount chief, the Agreement of 1904 referred to him as Lolima and not as the paramount chief, while, on the other hand, in the Agreement of 1911, Poggi was styled "Paramount Chief of all the Maoni." The phraseology of the latter Agreement is incorrect, and there is no doubt that in the minds of the Maoni, Poggi has no authority as Chief elsewhere than among his own division.

Functions of Paramount Chief and Medicine-men

In making recommendations for the abolition of the office of paramount chief, Mr. Bowring drew attention to the fact that the functions of a paramount chief and of a chief medicine-man were incompatible. As paramount chief, Poggi was expected to endeavour to maintain order and to assist the Government, while as chief medicine-man, his whole trend of thought must of necessity be reactionary and secretive and he, together with all the other medicine-men, must realise that any real progress on the part of the tribe would not fail to undermine their influence.

The future of Maoni

Mr. Bowring advocated the continuance of the system of government of each division through its own local elders and local council, under which system Poggi would take his place among his own elders but would not be concerned with the administration of the rest of the tribe. It would be difficult to prevent the continuance of the existence of medicine-men if the tribe wished to preserve them, and he thought that a preferable policy would be to instil a desire into their minds for progress and development in which case those survivals of barbarism would eventually disappear. The Maoni were a very conservative and suspicious people, inclined to a most grinding curse, and the task of overcoming them to a more enlightened train of thought, serious as it was, was rendered all the more difficult and unsatisfactory by the unnecessary obstacle which had been placed between the administration and the tribe in the form of a paramount chief, who had no place in the constitution as evolved by native custom and tradition. He was therefore confident that the abolition of that office would offer the Maoni better security than the existing system and he was convinced that it was more in accordance with the opinion of the Maoni themselves.

*698
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Taxation.

essential problem before the Government at the present time in dealing with the Masai is how to turn this annual increase into a realisable asset. The proposals for imposing upon the Masai a tax of two rupees per head of cattle per annum, approved by the Governor in January, 1918, fell through mainly owing to the impossibility of procuring a market for the quantities of almost worthless stock that would have been produced in payment, and it is difficult to see how this objection is to be overcome unless some much more marketable commodity is produced. Purchase by local residents and firms of the kind of Masai stock that would come in as a result of the imposition of such a tax would in all probability be very limited in extent, and no business firm has yet come forward with proposals for taking over such stock for canning or export by other means. It has not yet been proved or disproved that such Masai stock is marketable for the purposes of human consumption, but it is a fact that much of the stock from the Masai Reserve produced for slaughter by the military authorities was returned as unsuitable, and while it is extremely improbable that the Masai would be able to pay their tax in cash, it is only reasonable to expect that the worst stock would be paid in in lieu of cash where that was unobtainable.

Problem of taxation.

The problem, therefore, appears to be as follows. If the necessary staff is provided, a tax can be collected from the Masai at the rate approved which will bring in stock assessed at £100,000 annually. Of the money realised, £30,000 is to be devoted to works in the Masai Reserve which will so improve the conditions therein as will not only render it capable of maintaining a larger number of stock, but will also so alter the conditions as to make it probable that a higher grade of cattle could be supported in the reserve. When this last step has become effective, it may reasonably be assumed that a market will be forthcoming for the cattle paid in as a tax, but it is not yet proved that it will be possible to realise the value of the stock collected in the earlier years. A trial alone can demonstrate this.

*698 Masai as an asset to the Protectorate.

Enough may now have been said on the subject of the potentialities of the reserve, but it must also be borne in mind that, of the proposed cattle tax, one half of the proceeds are to be paid into the general revenue of the Protectorate, and that it is a matter of concern not only to the reserve, but to the Protectorate as a whole, that the proceeds of the tax should be forthcoming in the shape of a realised asset as soon as opportunity occurs. The Masai have hitherto paid a hut tax at the rate of three rupees per hut, which sum, amounting to less than £3,000 per annum, has not covered the cost of their administration, but the proposed tax will not only cover the cost of the administration of the reserve, but will leave a considerable balance for the general development of the Protectorate, while the needs of the Masai Reserve can be attended to to the fullest extent of which the staff is capable.

[E51]

461
464 Masai working in the reserve.

Of the Masai residing within the reserve, the most that can be expected of those who are not tending cattle is that they will help in the performance of the public works which are destined to be undertaken therein. Hitherto they have not been employed on such works, as manual labour does not appeal to them, and it is indeed doubtful if such a change will be brought about in their temperament as to induce them to perform this. That the position may not be hopeless is perhaps suggested by the fact that certain sections of the Nandi tribe who had until recently maintained an attitude similar to that adopted by the Masai, commenced manual labour last year, and a corresponding change for the better may still occur among the Masai.

177 Future of the Masai.

● [E91]

Conditions have so greatly altered in the Masai Reserve during the last few years that the power of the moniton-men as a class has greatly decreased. The insistence on education for the Masai may further enlighten them, may undermine their conservatism, and may encourage them to discard their prejudices. An organised movement to show the Masai the development that is going on around them and to drive home to them the fact that unless they progress they are bound to disappear in the circumstances attendant on the introduction of civilisation may have its effect in eventually bringing them to a conception of their duty. The Masai problem has not yet been tackled, but the prospect of rendering them useful citizens of the Empire is not entirely without hope.

4: Sandford G-4, 9 (1918) 1919 FL12 Mamal FL12
Uganda Gisaka

Prior to the meeting, Mr. Hollis visited the Usoke Gisaka Native Reserve and several of the adjoining farms and obtained the following information. The Usoke Gisaka Mamal in this area numbered in all between 1,000 and 1,200 animals and paid tax on 600 hoes. They possessed 12,000 head of cattle and 10,000 sheep and goats. 4,000 head of these cattle were in the habit of grazing on land belonging to Captain Grogan, who received tribute in lieu thereof at the rate of 1 per cent. per annum. There were 30 kraals on Lord Delamere's land, containing 2,000 head of cattle, which were allowed this privilege without payment. The remaining 7,000 or 8,000 cattle were for the most part in the Native Reserve.

Native occupation of the Usoke Gisaka Reserve

CAB* 251 FL12 [illegible]

The two reserves occupied by the Usoke Gisaka Mamal in February, 1911, were separated by a strip of alienated land, and steps were taken to re-acquire parts of adjacent farms belonging to Captain Grogan which would join these two areas and form one native reserve having an area of some 40,000 acres. The Mamal were informed that, when this reserve had been allotted to them, they must regard the question of boundaries as definitely settled. They were also given to understand that, in lieu of hut tax, they would be required to pay a cattle tax of R. 1 per head on a stock tax of one head out of every head of 100 cattle, sheep or goats.

Native occupation of the reserve

CAB* 311

In July, 1911, the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, reported that the southern half remained between Chief Londiani and the hereditary Lubwa, Wakhonyi, besides some in the Mamal Reserve. Londiani had been nominated Chief by Mr. Dave Mc Frederick Jackson when he was stationed at Eldoret and had received a considerable following. Charges of witchcraft had been brought against Wakhonyi, with the result that he requested permission to move, with the other Mamal, from Lubwa into the Southern Mamal Reserve. His following supported a desire to accompany him. It seemed, however, that such a movement would be the cause of friction between the Usoke Gisaka and the other Mamal, who have little in common, and it was decided to hold the matter over, at any rate until the Mamal Move was an accomplished fact.

Provincial Commissioner Naivasha visits the Usoke Gisaka Reserve

CAB* 538 954 791

In May, 1912, the sanction of the Secretary of State was requested to an exchange of land held by Captain Grogan in the Naivasha Province for an area on the Athi Plains. Captain Grogan was willing to exchange 14,000 acres, to be used for an extension of the Usoke Gisaka Mamal Reserve, for 20,000 acres on the Athi Plains. The Secretary of State approved this arrangement in June, 1912, and the Provincial Commissioner, Naivasha, was instructed to take steps to mark out the extended Usoke Gisaka Mamal Reserve.

CAB*

A description of the Usoke Gisaka Mamal Native Reserve was accordingly drawn up, and read as follows:—

Boundaries of the Usoke Gisaka Native Reserve

CAB* 131

"The reserve is divided into three parts:

"No. 1. Commencing at the point where the Nakuru Eldoret Native Road crosses the Engare-na-Nanyuki River the boundary follows the right bank of this river down stream to its junction with the Engare (or Nagare) River; thence along the left bank of the Engare River up stream to the point where it is crossed by the Nakuru Eldoret Native Road; thence along this road in the direction of Eldoret Native to the point of commencement.

"No. 2. Commencing at the point where the Engare River is crossed by the Nakuru Eldoret Native Road the boundary follows that road in the direction of Nakuru to the most southerly corner of portion L.O. 497; thence in south-westerly direction along the western boundary of L.O. 497 to its intersection with the eastern boundary to L.O. 498; thence northerly and westerly along the eastern and northern boundaries of portion L.O. 498 to the Engare River; thence along the right bank of the Engare River down stream to the point of commencement.

"No. 3. Commencing at the most westerly corner of portion L.O. No. 498 on the Eldoret Native Road the boundary follows the western boundaries of L.O. 498, 499, 500, 501 in a north-westerly direction to the most northerly corner of the latter (which is also the western corner of L.O. 502); thence in a south-westerly direction along the southern boundary of L.O. 502 to the Kuis River;

[illegible]

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

is that they receive no benefit from the cattle of their neighbours. "We get neither meat nor milk," they say; "why, therefore, should we fight for the preservation of your cattle?" With a consummate knowledge of the region, the Masai warriors threaded their way by special pathways, passing Taveta, and crossing the Kyika. Nearing the coast, they skewed themselves away in the bush, while a few of the bravest went forward to spy out the land, knowing, however, full well that the very sight of one of their number was quite sufficient to stampede a hundred Wa-nyika or Wa-digo. Sadi, indeed, told me that on one occasion he actually met some of those spies *in the town of Mombasa at* midnight. This is, I think, doubtful, but it shows what they are considered capable of; and there can be no doubt as to the astonishing hardihood of those scouts. Stories are continually heard to that effect, thus rendering the Masai a terror in the land; and it is a fact that they have even reached Bagamoyo, opposite Zanzibar.

The raid was, of course, successful, and our savage friends returned in great glee. On reaching their homes, however, matters had to be squared up, and the spoil divided. So many head of the captured cattle were set apart as the portion of the lyhon Mbaruium, who had directed them well, and whose medicines had been so potent. Then followed a sanguinary scene over the apportionment of the remainder. There was no attempt at a fair division. The braver men and bullies of the party, consulting only their own desires, took possession of such cattle as pleased them, and dared the rest to come and seize them. The understood rule was that if any warrior could hold his own in single combat against all comers for three days, the cattle were his. And thus began the real fighting of the expedition, revealing sickening sights of savage ferocity. There were more warriors killed over the division of the spoil than in the original capturing of it. To kill a man in this manner was considered all fair and above board. Blood feuds were unknown, a man not being considered worth avenging who could not hold his own life safe. If, however, a man was murdered treacherously, the criminal had to pay forty-nine bullocks. Our young warrior, as he was only as yet winning his spurs, had to be content with the honour and glory of the raid, and he had the modesty not to pit himself against older and more ferocious fighters. It must be remembered that the cattle thus captured did not remain

7: Hailey C-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

was further complicated by the fact that at stated intervals, normally about 15 years, power passed from the hands of the representatives of one Age Group in each Section into those of the succeeding Age Group, there being thus an alternation of authority in each Section between the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups.

To quote Sir Charles Eliot again, the consequence of the traditional structure of Masai society was that " the centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship. The chiefs arranged the details of any raids which the young men wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight." The nearest approach to a central and superior authority was to be found in the Chief Medicine-Man (Laibon), though his authority was based mainly on the discharge of his magical functions.[1] The medicine-men were divided into three grades, of which the first grade was represented by the person of the Laibon, the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe, and his guidance was held to be of the first importance in any major operation which the tribe might undertake.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

It is unnecessary to dwell here on the circumstances which for a prolonged period made the Masai a standing menace to the peace of their neighbours. The tribe seems to have reached the height of its power between 1800 and 1850, when it overran Kenya and part of Tanganyika.[2] There were subsequently severe internal dissensions among the Masai, which resulted in two of their five " divisions " being practically destroyed and there was also great mortality as a result of the outbreak of cinderpest and smallpox in the 'eighties of last century. But even though their strength was much reduced, their predatory habits continued to be a matter of grave concern in the early days of the Colony, and seemed in particular to threaten the progress of European settlement. Among the Masai themselves strong feelings were aroused by the measures, taken largely in the interest of European settlers, designed to counteract the propensity of the tribesmen to roam widely in search of fresh grazing grounds, as the result of which they were restricted to a Northern Reserve (Laikipia) and a Southern Reserve, separated from the Northern Reserve by a broad belt of country occupied by European farms. That was the position at the time of the Masai Agreement of 1904, but it subsequently became the policy of the Kenya Government to move the tribesmen in the Northern Reserve into the Southern Reserve, which was to be largely augmented in area for this purpose.[3]

In view of the terms of the Agreement of 1904, the assent of the Masai was required for this transfer, and the operation was one of obvious difficulty. In the circumstances it was not unnatural that the Government should have availed itself of the influence exercised by the Chief Medicine-Man, the Laibon Lenana. He had inherited from his father, Mbatian, who died in 1890, a position which commanded general respect, and he himself took a leading position on behalf of the tribe in the discussions which led up to the Agreement of 1904, which he signed as " Chief Laibon." He was subsequently recognized

[1] The word laibon appears to be a European form of the Masai word Ol-oiboni (A. C. Hollis, The Masai, 1905, page 28).
[2] Land Commission Report Vol. II para. 203.
[3] The Laikipia Reserve, comprised 2,000 square miles. An addition of 8,500 square miles was to be made to the Southern Reserve.

7: Hailey C-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

by the Government as the Paramount Chief of the Masai, a title which was in 1911 continued to his son Sogi. It was as Paramount Chief that Sogi, through his Regent Legalishu, signed the Agreement of 1911, which recorded the acceptance by the Masai of the move from Laikipia to the Southern Reserve.

But Lenana himself never seems to have claimed a position of sovereignty, nor was it ever accorded to him by the tribe. Sogi proved to be lacking in the qualities of his father, and such influence as he possessed was confined to the small Section of which he was a member, while the more important Sections, such as the Purko, either refused to recognize him or viewed him with contempt. In 1918, therefore, the Government withdrew his recognition as Paramount Chief. Apart, however, from any question of the personal capacity of Sogi, it is obvious that the social structure of the Masai had no place for the conception of chiefship in the form existing in the traditional organization of those Bantu tribes which have a "centralized" system of Government. In the latter, the fundamental principle is the recognition of a tribal head, with authority devolved on territorial subchiefs, and supported on the allegiance of headmen representing either kinship groups or village units. In such an organization the authority possessed by the headmen is no essential or element as that of the Chief and his subchiefs—a fact which is sometimes overlooked by those whose contact with a tribe is primarily through these more conspicuous figures. All these features of the normal Bantu tribal organization were existing in the structure of Masai society.

Following the abolition of the post of Paramount Chief in 1918, the Government endeavoured to find agencies for local administration in the protection of these institutions, a Central Masai Council, a series of 14 Native Councils each representing a different tribal Section, and Headmen, created as far as possible on the model of the Location Headmen found elsewhere in the Colony. The Central Masai Council at Ngong was composed of the presidents of the Native Councils and was to meet twice a year. The 14 Native Councils were designed to take the place of the informal Councils of Elders to which reference has previously been made. They were recognized as tribunals exercising powers under the Native Tribunal Rules of 1913, and were moreover given the position occupied by Collective Headmen under the Native Authority Ordinance then in force (No. 20 of 1912). The members of these Councils consisted of the recognized Counsellors (*L'aigwenak*) of the different Age Grades in the divisions, with a few of the more influential Elders and Morans added. Morans (*L'aigwenak*) were not ordinarily admitted to these Councils of Elders, but as the Elders did not themselves possess any great measure of control over the Morans, it was thought that the appointment of their leading warriors might help to improve the situation. These appointments could, however, only be temporary, owing to the custom already mentioned, under which an Age Grade of Morans holds its position only for a specified period in each Section, giving place to a new Age Grade at the end of that time. The presidents of these Councils were chosen from the *L'aigwenak* by the Masai themselves.

The greatest difficulty was, as foreseen at the time, encountered in regard to the appointment of Headmen. These were not necessarily Elders, but were chosen as possessing wealth or influence, and were given the position accorded to headmen by the Native Authority Ordinance No. 20 of 1912. But there were two obstacles to their effective discharge of these powers. The units which they were selected to control were not Locations with a settled population, as in most other parts of Kenya, but groups of semi-nomadic tribesmen, and their

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

grades, which has resulted in marking off the whole of the younger men, roughly up to the age of twenty-seven or thirty, as a warrior class (morans) who are not only free from most obligations to work, but are independent in many other respects of tribal discipline. Though therefore authority has vested nominally with the Elders (laigwenak) who have passed the stage of morans, and with the Councils of Elders who formed a regular feature of the Masai tribal usage, these Councils have not in the past nor are they to-day able to enforce decisions which may affect the younger men. It is true that the Elders have recently made decisions, accepted by the morans themselves, which will limit the period of moran-hood and may provide the morans with work on betterment schemes, but it still remains to be seen how far these will be effective in providing a solution for a problem of which the economic is no less serious than the social aspect.

Attempts were at one time made in Tanganyika, as also in Kenya, to utilise the Laibon, the spiritual head of the Tanganyika Masai, as Native Authority. But the Masai themselves objected to his occupying this position, and as the result of a Sociological Survey made by H. A. Fosbrooke in 1938, the system was altered. The gazetted Native Authority then became the Masai Council, which in practice consisted of Headmen and Elders, and apparently also of any tribesmen outside the moran age grade who cared to attend. But this Council was in effect only a consultative body, without any practical authority, and since the Headmen were not gazetted as Native Authorities, they had no legal power to issue Orders under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance.

A further reorganisation has now been carried out. Each area now has its own Local Council, with locally elected representatives of age grades and clans, and these Councils have been gazetted as Subordinate Native Authorities. Representatives from each Local Council, differing in numbers in accordance with the size and population of the area involved, compose the Masai Council, which is the Superior Native Authority for the whole Masai District, excluding Sonjo. The Council is now limited to these representatives: there is, however, provision for the addition of morans or nominated members if and when advisable. The Local Councils have begun to exercise their Order making powers under Section 8 of the Native Authority Ordinance. There are 41 paid Headmen, chosen by members of their own age grade.

There is a Masai Native Treasury, which however is managed entirely by the District Commissioner. The small Sonjo tribe has a Council of Sonjo Headmen, which is gazetted as a Native Authority, and has a separate Treasury.

THE WORKING OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

The variety of conditions is so great that it is difficult to generalise on the operation of the system of native administration in the Province as a whole. There are, however, certain points of special significance. The recent re-organisation in the Chagga Native Authority area has placed in a superior position those Chiefs who already had a high status in view of the number of taxpayers in their jurisdiction, but its future success will depend on the extent to which these Chiefs can secure the co-operation of the more progressive elements who have now been brought within the framework of the system, as members of the new Divisional Councils. This is especially necessary, in view of the character of Chagga society, for though the Chagga are probably the

shows reluctance, as he may—for many show election to the office—he is seized by the boys and held until he agrees. Other boys set off to relate the news to his family. When the family has been informed the new *oiguenani* is presented with his badge of office called *el kowa orok*—the black club. This club is made of olive wood. It must be quite straight and unlikely to break easily. It need not necessarily be black in colour. The club is likened by the *il-piron* elders who spit honey wine over it; it is then likened by the *ingopior* boys in similar fashion and handed to the *l'oiguenani*. He too is spat upon in blessing and prayers are offered that he may have strength, wisdom, and long life. Later the boys present their *l'oiguenani* with a heifer and a goat.

If at any time the boys go against his wishes, the *l'oiguenani* may resign by throwing his club to the ground before a meeting of the boys. Should they be dissatisfied with him they may make him resign by taking away his club. They may even take away the heifer if his offence is severe.

When the boys have elected their *l'oiguenani* the *il-piron* elders take him, together with a few boys to visit the medicine man. The medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him, and prepares for him a special medicine called *el empurimpakia*—the red bull. This the spokesman is made to drink; it is said to preserve him from witchcraft of the medicine men. In addition, the spokesman is given various charms for the benefit of the tribe. Possibly one is to prevent rinderpest in cattle, another to cause the cows to calve freely, another to prevent malaria. Usually the charms are sewn in leather bags and are always accompanied by very intricate instructions as to their use. All these charms must be paid for by those who expect to benefit. An instance was related to me of a ceremony held at Loitokitok in 1928 for which a famous medicine man *Sandeyo* supplied the charm. Its purpose was to prevent the old men of the tribe from dying until they reached a great age. *Sandeyo* received 40 heifers and bullocks in payment. The medicine man does not state his price but it is usual to pay generously for his services as he is a dangerous person to offend.

Obtaining charms from a medicine man is not a matter to be undertaken lightly. Those who accompany the spokesman are always people of proved intelligence and good memory. Charms are always given with much complicated directions as to their use. If any one of the instructions are overlooked the charm may be rendered useless or may even work evil against its users. The Masai sometimes find that their purchases do not have the effect they desire and report the matter to the medicine man; the latter never fails to point out where an error in the method of its use occurred—and probably effects

another sale! Sometimes circumstances prevent the immediate use of medicines obtained: a drought for instance might make it impossible to collect people for the ceremony; in such a case the charm might get old and lose its efficiency; or perhaps the object of its use may be forgotten. If this happens the medicine is conveniently mislaid or is thrown away, but if so a report must be made to the medicine man, for he will have seen what happened to his medicine and will be angry, if its fate is concealed from him.

After some years the boys are circumcised, and become novice warriors. As soon as most of them are circumcised the *ingopior* plan to form into separate companies in readiness for residence in warrior villages called *inarupuk*. Messages are sent and the warriors of all clans are called together by means of an *el-ewuel* just as the boys did before the *endungore* ceremony. The number of companies, called *l'aiet*, to be formed, also the names to be given to them are decided on beforehand by the *ingopiri* warriors. After discussion a division is decided upon. One warrior representing each company to be formed leaves the assembly, goes a little way and striking the butt of his spear with his club to attract attention, he calls: "*Ee ale Il Moiako*" or "*Ee ale Il Poloori*"—" This way the Moiako, this way the Poloori." The warriors then rise and join the man calling the name of the company they wish to join.

Groups of five will go together, to join the same company. A company may include warriors of more than one clan though as a rule the majority are of the same clan.

If the warriors of one clan are too few to form a separate unit they join the unit of another clan. If the clan is a very big one, the warriors may form two or even more units. Having joined a unit a warrior may retract at any time before that unit forms the first warrior village. Once the warrior villages are formed, any warrior who leaves one unit to join another, incurs the bitter resentment of the others. In some cases a fine of cattle is inflicted.

The units once formed, the warriors now appoint the *Laiyon* elders with a view to holding the ceremony of drilling—without which the first warrior village or manyata of new age-group may not be erected.

The *entharpuri* ceremony or the breaking of the fire stick, though it effectively holds up the circumcising ceremonies, is not finally binding. It sometimes happens that the medicine man decides that a full-head circumcision shall be held, in which case all the boys, the *Il piron* planned to make their special cuts, will be lost to them, for the boys will be circumcised to form one age with the ——— or right-head circumcision scores.

9:Foobrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
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DARETO	1911	Death of Lenana. The Great War. Fight between Dwati and Dareto at Ini Kisuli. Return of Ialion to Tanganyika. Mbatyo belonged to this age.
KISALE)	1926	Death of Parit.
)		Death of Sendeyo.
MERISHO)	1935	Death of Mbatyo.

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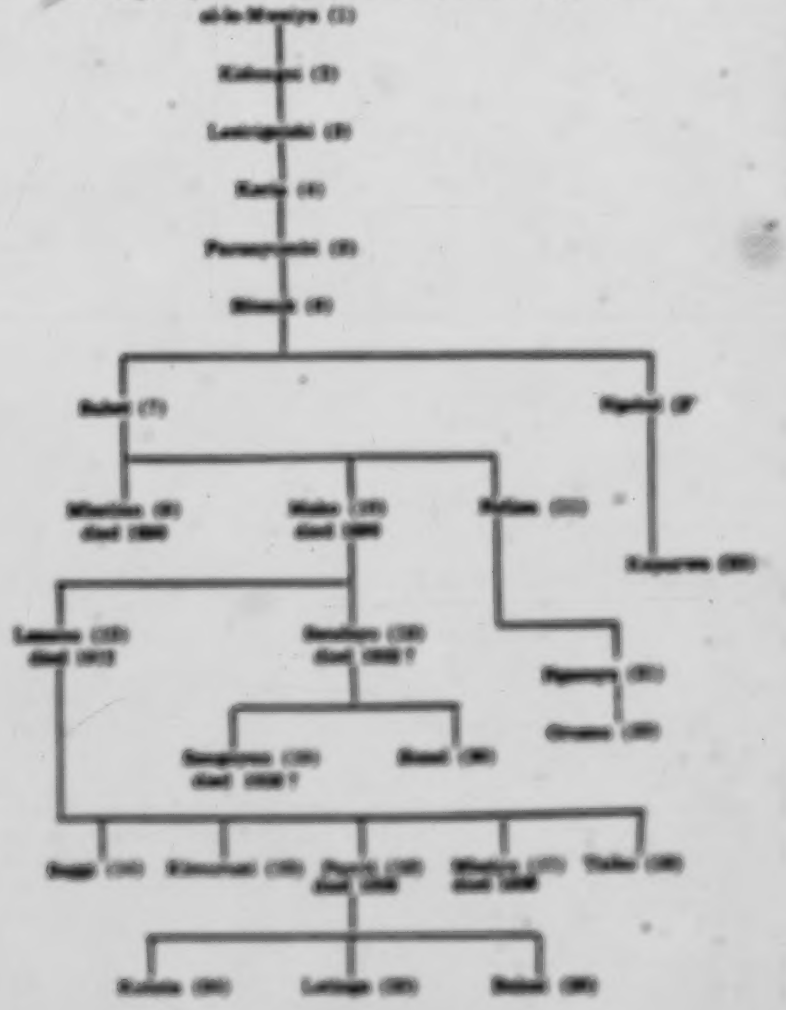
GENEALOGY OF THE LAIBON FAMILY.

Showing only those who attained political importance.



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SECTION II. THE LAIBON.

NOTE.—Numbers following names refer to Genealogical Chart.

The aim of this section is to record the functions of the laibon, or Masai Medicine Man, and the Masai attitude to him and his work, to study the character of recent laibonuk, and the adaptations they have made under modern conditions, and from an analysis of these factors to consider what place the laibon should take in tribal government. One is apt to lose the main thread of such a thesis in a mass of detail, and for this reason many incidents will be omitted when they only confirm what has already been illustrated by example. Facts which are known to run counter to the general argument are, however, recorded.

A. History — recent origins — development — the three types of Medicine men — rules of succession.

The Masai legend of the origin of the laibon is recorded by Hollis. Sriaffy, a youth, ol-le-Mweiya by name, was found sitting on the top of Ngong Mountain, was adopted by the Loiser clan, and proved himself to be a great medicine man. This occurred about ten generations ago. The only difference between this legend and the one generally current in Kisongo is that Kidongo (3), shown as the son of the original laibon in the Hollis genealogy, is regarded by most elders as the first laibon.

One interesting fact arises from the legend, namely that the Masai had penetrated as far as Ngong before they adopted a laibon, thus their original move and occupation of the Kenya Highlands must have been made without the supernatural guidance which the laibon alone can provide. On evidence which need not be recorded here, it seems certain that the Masai, whose age grade system so closely approaches that of the Galla, were possessed of their present military organization prior to leaving their original home. Thus it appears that the laibon is a later adaptation imposed on a self-sufficient organization of government through age grades. Probably much of the confusion of function which exists to-day, the indefinite division of governmental authority between the laibon and the age-set leaders, is due to the adoption of an institution incompatible with the original culture. It would be wrong to regard the institution as being foreign to Masai nature, but it is probably true that it is a feature which had not found its true level in the tribal structure when European influence intervened.

Assuming that the institution is but recently acquired, its development can be deduced from similar occurrences to-day. For there are, generally speaking, three types of laibon to be found at present. First, there is the private practitioner who, for suitable remuneration, will perform such services as curing sickness, removing barrenness and ensuring fidelity in wives. He is only consulted by individual patients. The next stage is when a private practitioner has acquired such a reputation that he is consulted by a deputation on behalf of a group of Masai, and provides charms and lays down a ceremonial to be utilized to the advantage of the whole group. Such practices are alleged to be efficacious for the above-mentioned complaints, and may also prove useful in preventing

9:Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
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success in war, adequate rainfall, or immunity from disease, both human and bovine. Such a laibon of course retains his private practice. The final stage is when a laibon is invited to superintend and bless ceremonial affecting the whole tribe, such as circumcision, promotion of warriors, standing down, etc. Such a one retains the duties of the two previous stages, and is in fact the *Chief Medicine Man* of the section or tribe. This is the status which the term laibon popularly connotes, and is the sense in which the word is used throughout this paper, unless otherwise indicated.

It is very possible that the office of laibon developed by progression through the three stages outlined above. It may further be assumed that the process took two or three generations to complete, before the laibon was fully installed in a position of power. For this reason the immediately pre-European conception of the office was not as old as the genealogy would at first indicate.

It is possible to quote examples of practising laibonuk, representing each of the three types of medicine man. Any member of the Engidong clan is credited with a certain amount of supernatural power. Not all exercise their gifts, but as an example of one who did, Kakenya, murdered at Longido in 1888, may be quoted. In addition to the Engidong clan, however, numerous aliens, particularly Kikuyu, often build up reputations as private practitioners.

Of the second type, those who cater for various groups, the example of Ovuma (II) springs to mind. He probably exercised 'group' functions in the supply of charms for cattle raiding, but was brought to book when he tried to usurp the privileges of the elders in the matters of tribal ceremonial. Tokio (18) was doubtless another member of this class, supplying raiding medicine to the morans of the Longido area. Both these people are of the Engidong clan, but as an example of one who was not, one can quote ole Shange, of the Ngorongoro Highland area. He is a Kikuyu and his activities are not fully understood. He was believed responsible for a series of raids in 1933, and has still got a reputation, known beyond the bounds of his particular area, as a powerful laibon.

The third type, the acknowledged laibon of the tribe or group of sections, must always be a member of the Engidong clan. One frequently hears that in olden times all the Masai acknowledged one laibon, but Mbatian (8) had a fellow practitioner, if not a rival, in his brother Mako (10), and it is more than probable that many other figures, important competitors to the known holders of office, have been lost in the mists of antiquity. The phrase "all Masai acknowledged one laibon" requires also a further qualification, as the rival sub-tribes, Uasingishu, Kwavi, etc., had their own medicine men.

The office is hereditary, insofar as the holders must be members of the Engidong clan, and preferably close relations of the deceased laibon. More distant relations confine themselves to activities of the two inferior laibon types. There are, however, no definite rules of succession, the

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choice resting on the general consent of the tribe. He whom the previous laibon had held in greatest esteem, and trained and nominated for the office, would normally be chosen. The past reputation of the candidate would, however, be a matter for consideration; if someone, other than the deceased's choice, had proved himself extremely powerful, it is possible that he would be chosen, for fear of the consequences were he overlooked. The maxim of English law, that none should benefit by his crime, is also applied. For the death of a laibon is as a matter of course attributed to witchcraft by a fellow Engidong, and the first step in choosing a new laibon is to ascertain who killed the old; such person is automatically barred from succession.

It has been represented that the above theory of late development of the institution stands or falls on a Masai legend. The answer to that is that very few legends are found without some foundation of fact, and secondly that there are many indications that it is a feature not fully assimilated by the Masai organization.

B. Pre-European Functions of the Laibon: Raids and War — Age-grade ceremonies (with certain restrictions) — local ceremonies — tribute — supposed administrative actions.

Immediately prior to his death in 1890 Mbatian was living at Ngwenge, but had previously lived, as had his father Subet (I), at Lenkaiser Hill, immediately below the Mondul District Office. He was nominally the official laibon for the whole of the tribe, though his brother Mako lived and practised as a laibon at Enguroto loi Mako, in Ngorongoro Crater. It is also significant that Thomson refers to "the important Lybons (medicine men) Lenguke, Mbatian, and Lemboremomi," without singling out Mbatian as the leader. If he in fact occupied the position, bordering on chieftainship, that many Masai elders would have us believe, it is improbable that even an early traveller would fail to note and comment on it.

There can be little doubt that at this time a laibon's chief functions were:

i. Dispensing charms for raids.
ii. Supervising and blessing the age grade ceremonies.
iii. Propounding the ritual and giving charms for local ceremonies, concerned with fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with rainfall.

It is probable that any acts which he performed in the executive sphere arose from these three main duties, which must now be examined more fully.

In the matter of providing charms for raids, it should be noted that raids are divided by the Masai into two types, major (ol oreni), and minor (ol ewendet). Both these names also signify a group of moran fitted out for war, the former larger than the latter. A third term, which might well be recorded here is o remore, signifying a fight with spears, more particularly the deliberate killing of an alien for the purpose of acquiring a reputation.

9;Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL.12 Masai FL.12 Kisonko

Prior to a major raid, but not before a minor expedition, a visit would be paid by the participants to the laibon, who would give charms to ensure success. No payment was made at the time, but a portion of the captured stock was taken to the laibon on return. It was thus to his material advantage, as well as to that of his reputation, that the raid should be successful; it is consequently only natural that he should pass on any bits of intelligence brought in by previous visitors, and any hints which experience had taught him, to reinforce the efficacy of his charms. Thus a proportion of the spoils, lifted by a combined force of Kimonge Dwati and Dareto from the Lumbwa living beyond Kitoto, about 1918, were taken to Laibon Parrit (10), later gazetted Chief of the Tanganyika Masai, but at that time resident in Kenya.

The initiative of suggesting such raids seems to have rested with the morans, though the modern technique of an upstart laibon saying "There are plenty of cattle in such-and-such an area, I can't understand why you fellows don't go and take some", was doubtless used in the old days to encourage slovenly sections to action.

Minor raids, from all accounts, were organized locally and carried out without reference to the laibon, to whom some of the captured cattle were presented. The difference between a major and a minor raid appears to have lain not only in the numbers of Masai involved, but also in the strength and reputation of the proposed enemy.

In the matter of civil war the laibon's position was rather different, as his own position was at stake. In contrast to the usual "We went and raided such-and-such a tribe", Laimer informants frequently refer to the time "when Mbarian called us up to fight the Lukipisiak." In the struggle which followed the death of Mbarian, it is obvious that Lenana and Senteye were encouraging war for the purpose of furthering their own personal ambitions.

The second main function of the laibon is that of supervising and blessing the age grade ceremonies. It is probable that a laibon at least gives charms, if he does not attend in person the Entolomet ceremony, the commencing ceremony of the age, held by the Kakenyoke section on behalf of the whole tribe. It is certain that he does so both at the Unono and Ngabore ceremonies, that is at the promotion and passing out of the warriors. But he is not responsible for the organization of such matters, nor is it on his initiative that new ages commence or old ones stand down. As this is a matter of prime importance in determining his true position it deserves full attention. The closing of the present Merishe age was agreed to at an Ol Kinono (or General Meeting) of the tribe in 1937, and not done at the dictation of the laibon. The il Piron elders, i.e. those of the reciprocating age — set next but one above the warrior set — are alone responsible for the initiation, promotion and standing down of the morans. An interesting case occurred in February 1938, after the Endongoro, or closing, of the present age, when a Dwati elder at Naibor Mort decided to circumcise his two sons, and brewed beer in preparation for the event. The local Dareto, hearing of this, determined to stop him, marched into his boma, and drank the beer themselves. It

9:Foxbrooke G-S (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
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is confirmed by numerous reliable elders, that, even if the laibon had given his sanction for the circumcision, the Dorobo elders would have been justified in acting as they did.

On a safari in June, 1938, laibon Mbatya laid down a ceremonial for closing the age. It consisted of taking a small bird (dead) and breaking its legs and putting out its eyes. Whitehouse records a similar ritual in the same connection. On further enquiry it appears that this procedure is merely a curse which may be laid on any elder who is determined to circumcise his son during the 'closed season' in defiance of warnings. It is generally considered improbable that such a ceremony will actually be performed. The point of recording this case is to illustrate that the laibon's part in this matter is merely to re-inforce by magical means a decision that had already been taken by the elders. It is also of interest to note that Mbatya was passing off as original a curse which had been used in Kenya for years.

Although the supervision of the age grade ceremonies has been recorded as an important function of the laibon, this activity is subject to various restrictions, the principle of which I have been unable to ascertain. The facts, however, show that the laibon of one section may perform the ceremony for another, or alternatively the assistance of an 'unofficial' laibon may be sought; for instance the Ngatoro or passing out ceremony of the Dorobo age-set of the Kisonyo section was ministered to under Partit, and the Uasin or promotion ceremony of the Kisale age under Mbatya, who were respectively the ruling Laibons at the material times. But in fact an old Kikuyu adeptus of the Reginbog clan, and Lolkidowa ole Kadongo (now deceased), was called in to assist in both these ceremonies. By agreement the Mondul laibon received the fees in respect of these ceremonies from the Matevera and Kilayo areas, whilst those contributed by the Mondul and Longida Masai went to Lolkidowa at Ruiri, Kenya Colony. In another case, Sangayan, laibon of the Loita section, performed the Uasin or promotion of the Kisale age for the Matapato and Loldoliani sections, which are nominally under Kimoriai (II). All that can be said, therefore, in our present state of knowledge, is that the 'official' laibon to the section does not necessarily play the leading part in the age grade ceremonies of that section.

In the choice of Laigwenak or Spokesmen of the Age-grades, Whitehouse records "The medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him," a statement for which there is ample confirmation throughout Kisonyo. Hollis, it is true, states "If the chief medicine man approves of the selection, a cloth is made for the new chief . . . ", but this is with reference to the laibon who is a chief of ceremonies only, and certainly does not apply to the Laigwenak or Spokesmen.

It is also noteworthy that the Il Piron elders keep in very close touch with the laibon, from the time they take charge of the new age, until their charges stand down. Most of the Laigwenak of the Kisale or Senior Warrior Age of to-day state that they were first taken to Laibon Partit when he was still resident in Kenya, i.e. prior to 1933: they were of course only boys at the time. The laigwenan of Loosegem for instance

9.Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1968) 1968 FLIJ Mawa: FLIJ Kiwoko

On left —

LADIGO MINETA (25)

Below—

WARRIOR IN FULL CEREMONIAL DRESS wearing lion-killer's headdress with ostrich-plumes as spear as a sign of peace.

[illegible]

9:Fosbrooke G-S (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

state that he went eleven times to Parit before circumcision, numerous times after initiation, when Parit was resident at Mondul, and six times to Ieiben Mberiya. One cannot regard the figures as accurate, but at least they show that the laibon is in close touch with the developing moran and their guardians.

It has been recorded above that the third main function of a laibon is to lay down the ritual and to provide charms for local ceremonies, concerned with fertility and disease (both human and bovine) and with rainfall.

Whitehouse's description of visits to the laibon for this purpose is of interest. "Obtaining charms from a medicine man is not a matter to be undertaken lightly. Those who accompany the spokesman are always people of proved intelligence and good memory. Charms are always given with much complicated directions as to their use. If any one of the instructions are overlooked the charm may be rendered useless or may even work evil against its users. The Masai sometimes find that their purchases do not have the effect they desire and report the matter to the medicine man; the latter never fails to point out where an error in the method of its use occurred — and probably effects another sale! Sometimes circumstances prevent the immediate use of medicines obtained, a drought for instance may make it impossible to collect people for the ceremony, or perhaps the objects of its use may be forgotten. If this happens the medicine is conveniently mislaid or is thrown away, but if on a report must be made to the medicine man, for he will have seen what has happened to his medicine and will be angry if its fate is concealed from him."

Most of these points are confirmed by Kisongo informants. The organization of deputations to the laibon is one of the principal duties of the lagwenak. I have heard it explained of various elders — "he always goes on behalf as he has a good memory." The "complicated directions" usually involve the building of a boma, to which all the participants temporarily remove; the duration of their stay is laid down by the laibon. The charms given may be applied in numberless ways; they may be eaten or drunk, sprinkled or smeared over the bodies of those concerned. They may be mixed with decoctions of tree roots, with the fat of the sacrificial beast, or even with the liquor semen if the slaughtered beast is pregnant.

The slaughtering of a beast is the most usual ceremonial, its species, sex, colour and condition being laid down by the laibon. Examples of such types are — black bullock, black and white heifer in calf, brown cow, pregnant ewe, etc., etc. The skin of the beast is usually cut up and divided amongst the participants. Such pieces of skin are termed il kerotia, ring- or bracelet and may be worn on the finger, a particular finger being named by the laibon) hung round the neck, or suspended over the door or bed in the house.

Other variants concern the situation of the boma, or the phase of the moon, as alogether there are an infinite variety of ceremonies which may be ordered.

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One is frequently told by elders that in the old days the laibon concerned himself primarily with the women, giving them war charms, supervising their ceremonies, etc., his payment consisting of a share in the spoils of war. After the Unoto or promotion ceremony it appears that a special raid was undertaken, called *enamboreni*, a portion of the produce of this doubtless being handed to the laibon. I should think, however, that the custom of collecting cattle by general levy on the Age, at some time after the eighteen or 'passing-out' ceremony, is old established. When such cattle are presented to the laibon, it appears customary for him to decree a ceremony, and to supply charms for it free of charge. This, according to some elders, was the last official connection between the laibon and the age *as a whole*, except of course his natural association with the ol piron elders concerning the initiation of a new age. Other dealings with him by the elders were in the nature of private practice.

Before concluding the reconstruction of a laibon's functions in the old days, reference may be made to certain administrative actions alleged to have been taken by certain past Laibonok. For instance Subet (I) is alleged to have recalled a section of the Masai who had penetrated far into Congo country (see Sec. I), and whom they refused to obey him, sent a body of morans to compel them to return. Again he is credited with complimenting some families of an agricultural tribe, il Kikuss, from Arusha Chini to the slopes of Mount Meru, to grow his tobacco, and to dig water furrows, notably the Engare ol Motonyi and the Engare Nanyuki, these agriculturists subsequently developed into the Arusha tribe. Mbatian (II), apart from his civil war activities, took such 'administrative action' as telling the Masai not to move at the time of the famine — in fact imposing a quarantine — and ordering the tribe not to resist the Europeans.

But it frequently happens that past events become linked with the names of important personages of the time, when in fact there was no connection between the two. This may have occurred at least in the case of those actions recorded above attributed to Subet. But even if this is not so, the few instances of executive acts undertaken by the laibon in the past are insufficient evidence on which to base any theory that the institution of the laibon at any time approached the status of chieftainship amongst the Masai.

The picture of a pre-European laibon may therefore be re-constructed as follows:—

He was primarily the medicine man of the morans, both in respect of war charms and of supervising and blessing their circumcision ceremonies. As junior elders, the Masai still maintained contact with the laibon (paying eighteen head) and as il piron elders visited him on behalf of the new age. But except as private patients the elders seem to have done less business with the laibon than they do to-day. Administrative, executive or judicial functions were not part of a laibon's duties, though he could exert a certain amount of control by judicious advice. He was in no sense a paramount chief.

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C. **Modern adaptation of the Lalleneia — increase in local ceremonies — payment of fees — right to demand girls — mixed-tribal contacts — attitude of Wanni to Lalleneia and spiritual matters in general — conclusions.**

The basic factor altering the position of the laliana is the enforced prohibition of cattle raiding. As pointed out above, the supply of cheetas for cattle raiding was one of the Laliana's chief functions. The first effect of this change was to reduce the laliana's status, in addition to cutting off his main source of income. Some continued to draw glory and dividends by continuing the practice in secret, others, more loyal to the new order, sought for something to replace this loss. It is difficult to assess which motive was uppermost, love of power or greed for cattle, but whichever it was, the reaction was the same. It consisted of an intensification of another of their main functions, viz. providing charms for, and prescribing the ritual for, local ceremonies. This is thought to have been less important in the old days, but it is now the laliana's chief function and principal source of income, and as such merits attention.

The nature of the ceremonies has already been briefly described and with regard to their frequency, it is improbable that a year passes without some ceremony or other taking place in every area of the district. An aspect not yet touched upon is that of the method of collecting the fees paid to the Laliana.

In respect of the cattle paid for the age grade ceremonies their number seems to be laid down either by custom, or by the laliana himself, (I am not sure which). They are collected by general agreement from the members of the age concerned, after long discussion. A point of interest is that members of the Engidong clan are not expected to contribute, but may add a 'present' of their own, e.g. to one ceremony encountered, to the proportion of 8 Engidong cattle to 40 from other clans. But what is very striking about these levies is that the Wanni in general are seldom sure for what they are paying. When enquiring about a known sum of cattle, one may be told that they are the fees being paid by the Dwati age in respect of their Sigiluni ceremony, or by others that they represent payment by the Dwato age in respect of their Unoto, or promotion. One can only conclude that the general public do not really know for what they are paying; they have been told to contribute cattle, and do so without further enquiry.

In the matter of local ceremonies the situation is different. The idea of holding such a ceremony frequently arises from an old man having a run of bad luck — his cattle or children dying, or his wives not giving birth. He calls a number of his neighbours together, they discuss the situation and decide that a visit to the laliana is indicated — thus the movement starts. Other local ceremonies may be sought when the area in general is afflicted by drought or disease, or again the laliana himself may remind an area that he has not heard from them for some time. This may be done, for example, in the following manner: when the laliana is discussing the lesser or is in a trance deciding some matter for a Baluonian deputation, he will suddenly switch round and say, "I see the Mpiko people

9-Forbrooke G-4 (1931-1968) 1968 FL.11 Masai FL.18
Kisumu

are in for a bad time." That is sufficient to ensure that a deputation from Matiko will visit him without delay.

Apart from specific payments for age grade matters, and the ceremonies obtained thereby, all the elders of an area are supposed to benefit from the performance of these local ceremonies, and consequently are expected to pay. It is an accepted practice that the Oolaiio age should not give cattle to be taken to the laiboni, but are expected to provide hospitality for the meeting which is called to decide who shall contribute. At the meeting proceedings may begin by a man being denounced for refusing hospitality to an age-mate, and so in effect fined. Otherwise the matter is one for general discussion, X pointing out that he gave a heast last time, Y drawing attention to the fact that X has not helped for many years, and so on.

These details have been included under the heading "Modern Adaptations," since one is so frequently assured that in the old days no such levies were made. It is asserted that the only occasions on which loans to laiboni were made was when a party of morans returned from a raid empty-handed, and were so exhausted that they collected beasts from amongst themselves to take to the laiboni.

Another demand which a laiboni makes on his followers is that he should be provided with wives. Some elders say that this is an age-old institution, others that it is a recent innovation. Be this as it may, motor transport is an innovation, and by getting round the country more, the laiboni see a greater number of suitable women, and consequently increase his demands. Parit (G) is credited with collecting five girls as a result of his safari to west round South Wamoiland where the boundary was demarcated : the Dorot paid the dowry and arranged the weddings. Wanjo (H), on a safari to Kibuye in 1937, demanded and was given the daughter of Lemoona, although she was engaged to another; Kapuiwa (B) paid one heast towards the dowry and contributed the cowskins for the wedding garment. When the girl was brought to Mandiri a number of relatives were presented to have the custom of her hand. On the same trip, Wanjo demanded and was given one girl from Simanjiro and another from Loangoni. Talke (M) is also alleged to have tried his hand at the same game, demanding the daughter of an old man at Sanya, the latter asserted that it was just an ordinary marriage, but local Masai opinion thought otherwise. For when a girl is married to a laiboni, she is regarded as lost to her family and clan. The usual relationship which marriage sets up between in-laws does not exist, one cannot approach a laiboni for assistance as one can an ordinary son-in-law, nor can one expect a laiboni to let either one's daughter or her children go home on protracted visits.

The introduction of Pax Britannica and of motor transport makes contact between the Masai medicine men and elders with doctors much more possible. There always seems to have been a close association between the Kibuye and the Engidong clan, so much so that we may reasonably suspect that the benevolent child-protector was merely a Kibuye importer. But if, as we believe, the Masai and Kibuye were

frequently fighting, contact must have been limited. But that is not the case today. When Mbarye's home was infected with measles in 1952 he hired a lorry and himself travelled to Nairobi and beyond, bringing back a Kikuyu medicine man to cleanse his home for him. Kutaia (B) is reputed to have obtained a charm to kill Mbarye from a Sukuma witch doctor in Pare, and Lutanga (B) and Sabeti (B) hired a car to go and interview this doctor, in order to verify the rumour and/or to obtain charms stronger than those given to Kutaia.

The cult of the loiben must therefore have much in common with the beliefs and practices of neighbouring tribes, and I put it forward as a possibility that, with further contacts, the institution may eventually end up merely as an instrument of common witchcraft.

In the absence of rational scientific explanations for the many natural phenomena which surround them, — drought and disease, fecundity and sterility, birth and death, — it is natural that the Maasi, in common with all other primitive peoples, should regard the unseen with deep fear and awe, and grasp at any opportunity offered which purports to control these mysterious factors in their lives. They believe the loiben to be capable of controlling these unseen forces, he is the intermediary between themselves and the supernatural. His blessing will ensure prosperity, his charms and rituals can alleviate an existing calamity, and his power of foretelling the future enables steps to be taken in ward off an impending catastrophe.

It is extremely difficult to ascertain the strength of these beliefs amongst individual Maasi, but it is considered that the majority of the Kisongo hold them implicitly. Some areas, e.g. Kibaya, have a reputation for consulting the loiben more frequently than others, but even the less the beliefs are general. The practice of the ritual may fall into temporary abeyance in certain areas, but the belief remains, and manifests itself in outward form on the advent of a drought or of a personal reminder from the loiben. Western contacts have as yet done little to shake these beliefs. A few Christian Maasi are completely sceptical, others may have their doubts, but when the occasion arises feel that they had better do what they are told, "to be on the safe side". One of the chief factors which guarantees the maintenance of these beliefs is the age grade system. From early adolescence the future leaders of the tribe, the impressed and regular, are frequently taken to the loiben by their guardians, the il piron elders. The lengthy discussions beforehand, the actual journey, the ceremonial attitude of the elders to the loiben, the ritual, the mysterious voice in the darkness but foretelling the future, all these must make a deep impression on the youths. This in turn is spread to the rest of their age-mates when they return home and perform the ordained ceremony.

There seems little doubt therefore that so long as the age-grade system is maintained in its present form these beliefs, and the assessment power they give the loiben, will be perpetuated. True, as education progresses, this power will decrease, but disbelief will dissociate a youth from his age-mates, and consequently his influence on others will be small, as the

9.Footnote G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

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791
791 ●

other hand those brought up in awe of the laibon are in a position to influence large numbers of their fellows. For this reason it is probable that these beliefs will be held for many years to come, although their intensity and their outward manifestations may decrease, as in fact they appear to be doing in Kenya to-day.

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The time has now come to summarize this section and to draw our conclusions. In doing so it will be necessary to differentiate between the Masai attitude to the laibon, and the laibon's attitude to the Masai. The Masai do not regard, nor have they ever in the past regarded the laibon as a chief or lawgiver. They regard him as an intermediary between themselves and the unseen, and in consequence hold him in great respect and awe. Any order that he cared to give, suitably disguised as a prophecy, would therefore be obeyed; the laibon is thus a great potential political leader. But here the attitude of the laibon to the Masai comes in. It may be that in the past a laibon has felt responsibility for the welfare of the tribe, but there are very few instances of this taking practical form. At the present time one can only judge the attitude of the laibon to the Masai on facts, and these reveal that he thinks only of himself and not of the tribe. With the possible exception of Lenana, no laibon has made any effort to assist the tribe to adapt themselves to modern conditions. Rather the reverse, for their own personal profit they have made themselves the focus of the tribe's intense conservatism. When cut off from one source of income (a share of raided stock), they have used their powers to develop an alternative (extended sale of charms).

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

laigwanan will be chosen for a large area, e.g. Naberera, including Engasumet and Ruvu. But later, as the number of recruits to the age increases, the *ingobir* of Engasumet and Ruvu will choose laigwanak of their own. These latter will, however, remain in a status of slight inferiority to the laigwanan first appointed. In their own areas they will be virtually independent, but at any communal gathering the senior appointment takes precedence.

This process of sub-division is important, as it not only gives a key to the really influential people, but also accounts for the fact that the areas of laigwanak vary from age to age. For instance, when the Dwati age was in process of formation, numbers were so few that in the whole of Tanganyika there were only three areas, Mofio, Kiteto and Engaruka. In the Dareto age, both the divisions and sub-divisions were more numerous, whilst the number of Kisale candidates justified even more appointments.

The visits to the laibon of the embryo laigwanak and *ingobir* appear to form a large part of their training. Even prior to the selection of a laigwanan, the leading youths are taken by the *il piron* elders, and the lengthy discussions which precede such visits must give the youths good practice in debate. Of these visits Whitehouse writes, "when the boys have elected their *l'aiguenani* the *il piron* elders take him, together with a few boys, to visit the medicine man. The medicine man always accepts the spokesman presented to him and prepares for him a special medicine called *ol oingonimyukia* — the red bull. This the spokesman is made to drink; it is said to preserve him from witchcraft of the medicine man. In addition, the spokesman is given various charms for the benefit of the tribe." It would thus seem, and my informants confirm, that the laibon has no power of veto over these appointments.

The official installation of the laigwanan may take place immediately after he is chosen, or it may be delayed. Thus in some cases it occurs before, and in others after, circumcision. An assembly is summoned for the ceremony; the *ingobir* of the *moran* and the *il piron* elders are the chief participants, but others drawn both from these and from the remaining ages are naturally present. A black club is prepared beforehand, which forms the centre of the ceremony. In some accounts a cow with a female calf at hoof is brought in, and its milk smeared on the right arm and on the club of the laigwanan, the divine blessing being invoked, and prayers offered that the new laigwanan may rule his people with strength and justice. Other accounts replace the milk with beer, and state that the milk need not be that of the mother of the calf, which incidentally the laigwanan keeps, but that it must be such-and-such a coloured cow. Again, others say that the club must be bound with green grass. The details are immaterial, but the ritualistic nature of the ceremony indicates that the office is regarded as one of permanency and importance.

The discussions preceding the choosing of a laigwanan never take place in the presence of possible candidates. For frequently they will refuse to undertake the work, and will run away if they know beforehand that they may be chosen. The chosen one may even throw down the

12: Fox G-S (1925-1930) 1930 FL.12 Masai: FL.12 Kenya

428 a small legacy of a few cattle to anyone he likes, but the bulk of his property must be inherited according to the above rules.

429. 430 *Women's Property.*—As a general rule a woman cannot own cattle herself, but holds them in trust for her husband. I have twice come across exceptions to this:—

(a) A woman who had plied the profession of a doctor (i.e. native herbalist) and had received cattle in payment.

(b) A woman who had amassed wealth outside and independently of the tribe.

Household utensils such as gourds, hides, and donkey saddles belong to the woman of the house.

175 791 648 634 *Laibons* (Masai, *'L-Oiboni*).—Hollis, pp. 324-330, gives the history of the *Laibons* up to the beginning of the present century. I will therefore briefly summarize their more recent history.

Lenana was made paramount chief of the Masai in Kenya Colony by the Government. He died in 1911. Some people thought that his brother Sendeyo had bewitched him, but little credence need be attached to this opinion. He appointed his small son Seggi to succeed him. As Seggi was a minor, Ngunya, son of Nellian, first cousin to Lenana, was appointed as regent. Between the years 1913 and 1923 it was the Kenya Government's policy to curtail the powers of the *Laibons*. Seggi grew up a weak and lovable person, who has little authority, and is more often drunk than sober. At one time he was deposed from paramount chiefainship for persistent inebriety, but was subsequently re-appointed to be paramount chief of the Kajiado District only.

His brother, Kimuruai, is *Laibon* of the Purko section. He is a weak character, but vainglorious and boastful. He is very untrustworthy owing to his desire to seem more important than his character warrants him to be.

Ngunya is now a very old man. He is *Laibon* of the Kaikonyuki section. Sendeyo is *Laibon* of the Loita section. He was deported to Meru in 1923, it having been alleged that he was implicated in the rising of the Il Kitoip age-group of the Purko at the end of 1922. He was allowed to return to Loita in 1928 and still lives there, much loved and respected.

Whereas in Kenya the power of the *Laibons* has been much reduced since Lenana's death, and councils of elders have been created to try and take their place in the government of the tribe, in Tanganyika Territory the authority of the *Laibon* has been upheld and he is regarded as the paramount chief. I believe that the system has worked well. Until recently their *Laibon* was Parit, a son of Lenana. Parit is now dead, and a minor, whose name escapes me, has succeeded him.

In Pl. XIII, *Fig.* 4, is seen a photograph of Seggi holding in his hand the bronze club of his grandfather, Mbatian, and the iron club of his father, Lenana (*see* Hollis, pp. 329 and 330). Mbatian's bronze club is at present in my possession, but should be returned to one of his descendants at some future date.

12: Fan G-9 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12 Kenya

Functions of Laibons.—A *Laibon* is far more than a mere medicine man or purveyor of charms. His function would seem to approach more closely that of a *chief priest* of the Israelites, and the *Il-Kidongi* sub-clan might be compared to the Levite tribe. 941

He is, or should be, the religious head of the tribe. No ceremony nor important enterprise should be undertaken without his blessing, in return for which he should be given a large present of cattle. He prays to God on behalf of the people. On one occasion Senkoyo arrived in my camp before sunrise, just as I was about to start on an excursion into the deep forest, and made a prayer for our safety. We stood round him and responded "*Ne-Ai*" (= "O God") at the pauses; I was too much taken by surprise to remember the details of the prayer except that it was very impressive, and that he ended by giving his genealogy (see Hollis, p. 338) in order to show that the prayer was one which should receive attention.

The *Laibons* use charms (*inkidongo*) for various purposes, and their employment is invariably accompanied by prayer to God. I have a few of the charms in my possession and have been instructed in their use, under promise not to reveal my knowledge. Senkoyo once said to me that a good heart was better than charms. [941]

Witchcraft.—Although the *Laibons* use charms, witchcraft, *i.e.* harmful magic, is not indispensable to their office. Some of them, however, are alleged to have made use of it. Witchcraft is not indigenous to the Masai. Such persons as I have found practising black magic in Masai country have learnt it from the Kikuyu of Nyeri District or from the Nuru. 954 [944]

Religion.—The Masai believe in one God whom they call Ne-Gai, which is the same word as they use for rain. They say that God is one, but permeates everything. He may be prayed to as inhabiting a wood, a stream, the earth, etc., but He is all the same God. The Masai only use short prayers such as "*Ne-Ai*" (O God) and "*Ne-Ai nikiae*" (O God do not strike me) except for the prayers at *Il Pul* and those of *Laibons* already mentioned. Some, if not all, of the ceremonies have a religious significance, but I cannot give details without further experience. 971 976

Superstitions.—There are certain old trees with holes in them, in which a Masai puts a handful of grass or leaves when he passes. They have told me that this is equivalent to a prayer. "May I live to be old like this tree." 989

A traveller sometimes puts a stone in the fork of the branch of a tree near the track in order that he may arrive at his destination before nightfall.

There are a few places where the passer-by should tie a knot in the grass. I am uncertain of the reasons for this.

When the new moon is first seen people pluck grass and throw it towards the moon, saying, "*Iujaki e enow el nabi nanioko el demp*"—"Give me the body which is long and I give you the short." I do not know the significance of this.

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[P. 466-A]

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Land Divisions and Authorities

The basic unit of a tribe, *ekuiku*, is the unit or exercise company in its economic (C3)
use; it represents a district from which a given number of fighting men is drawn; and within this district are also the kraals, *ekiray*, of the tribe. The formation of an *ekuiku* varies. It may contain a group of men who continue an ulcer the association which they began as warriors in the *dwonyoka*; or it may be a casual grouping which [C3]
one breaks up and re-groups; and it may contain anything from one to 10 *gaats*. Whatever the *ekuiku* may be, it is not a permanent council ready to unite with one of the others on the basis of [C3]
which it may be no more than the heads of families sitting together and talking. Each *ekuiku* is, it corresponds to some extent to the Dinka *kolaai*, though the powers and spheres are smaller. But it differs also in an important respect. All the inhabitants [C3]
of a Dinka parish, including the warriors, come under the jurisdiction of the *kolaai*, whereas in the Nuer system the local warrior company has its own authority, the *ekuiku*-ruor, who is responsible for the maintenance of both military discipline and "civil law" within his company, and his warriors appear to be independent of the elders' councils. When the warrior has passed out of the warrior stage, the *ekuiku*-ruor remains in authority. A number of *ekuiku* districts forms the larger unit, *ekuiku*, which English writers call the section or division, the latter being the word used by Seadford. Each of these *ekuiku* has a council of elders which corresponds in some respects to the Dinka parents' council, and, as will be seen from p. 11 above, the *ekuiku* are associated either in loose confederacies with a group name, like D.Parbar, D.Dwonyi, and D.Kwik-a-nyaiker, which together form the D.Kiengang, or in distinct "tribes" like D.Lik-piniak, Lambur. The organization of the Lambur [C3]
seems to have developed on slightly different lines from the rest of the Nuer.[*] The *ekuiku* is the homestead of one elder and his wives and children; a number of such homesteads forms a local group with a council of elders, and the total number of local groups is divided among eight sections called *D.mareiki* (sing. *el.mareiki*), each with a council made up of the leaders of the component group-councils. These *D.mareiki* are divided into two large sections with "cattle-names": the *D.mar-nik-kiriu*, "the black cattle," contains the *D.mareiki* of Lat-puoc-thiau, Lat-ngaak, Gi-mandik, and Nyaguni; and the *D.mar-bar-kiriu*, "the white cattle," contains the sections called *D.mar-nik-kiriu*, Lat-kamai, Lat-mandi, and Lat-gak.

The most important figure in Nuer organization is the *el.mareiki*, whose duties (C3a)
in the past were to decide the practical arrangements for war, to control the distribution of the loot, to settle disputes when appealed to, to lead his men in war, and to maintain liaison between his company and the fellows on the one hand, and between his company and other companies on the other. But he could resign if displeased with his men, who in turn could dismiss him if not satisfied with his actions. Now that there is no more organized warfare, the duties of the *el.mareiki* are mainly confined to the suppression of raiding, in which his effectiveness depends on his character, influence, and disposition; and to settling disputes, to which he is assisted [C3]
by the elders of the district. Thus a council system with an elected leader has developed out of the older structure in which the *e.mareiki* and *ruth-ap* were semi-hereditary leaders. As among the Dinka, it is the personality of the *el.mareiki* and the force of public opinion that compel obedience to him. But the white Nuer system [C3]
is less elaborate than even that of the Dinka, in spite of the apparent definiteness of the *el.mareiki*, though in certain respects he is exclusive to the Jiba Dinka or upper ruler of the Cells, who is the tribal ruler for a period of eight years.

The Leiben

The leiben, a word anglicized from *el.leibeni*, pl. *D.leibenik*, and derived from *e.liba*, "to make" medicine," [C3] is a ritual expert who practises divination and rain-making, cures illness, provides charms, and foretells the future. Padanaka divide

* Information from the Rev. Charles Hutchinson of the S.C.M.S.

13 Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

fall into five categories: (1) the private practitioner, who works in a small way as a diviner and doctor among a limited circle of clients; (2) the private practitioner who has gained a wider reputation and is consulted by several districts, and includes rain-making among his activities; and (3) the senior laibons, of whom there is one to each tribal group; these all belong to the Le-Kidogi sub-clan of the Il-Aiser clan, and the different tribal laibons were all fellow-clansmen, if not actually related. Thus, in addition to the laibons of the Kayoite or Ngong (now living among the Loitai), the Kaesian, Il-Ashipiak, Il-Wuasinkishu and Isonkor also had their own; though it is possible that the Ngong laibon had a higher standing throughout Masailand than the others. In pre-European days the functions of a head laibon were:* (1) to exercise war and to provide protective medicine for those taking part in it; (2) to authorize the ceremonies connected with the age-sets and circumcision; (3) to ensure the fertility and well-being of his people; (4) to make rain. In the exercise of these duties he is both an intermediary between man and the other world, and a mystical force for tribal activities. Many laibons also practise witchcraft (as defined above, p. 36). But the laibon is not a chief, and his authority depends on his mystical powers.

War Organization

When the warriors of a unit wanted to raid, they approached their *el-aigwenani*, who planned the attack and arranged for the co-operation of other companies if a big raid (*el-oreng*) was intended. The *il-aigwenani* concerned then went to the laibon to get his sanction and protective war medicine. Before agreeing, however, the laibon consulted the omens to see if the circumstances were propitious; and having done so, he gave his consent, sometimes in very after getting drunk. The warriors then went to their *il-pak* and hunted an eland to prepare them for the raid; patrols were also sent out, and when all was ready the party set out by the shortest route to their destination. Raids were made on most of the tribes round them, and extended to the coast, the Nyika being a frequent objective. Thomson was told that a Masai patrol was once seen in Mombasa itself. On their return, the raided cattle were divided. First, a number were set aside for the laibon; they were were given to those who had distinguished themselves; the rest were divided among the warriors, who gave one or two to their lovers in the *manyata*, but handed the rest of their shares to their families. If there were not enough cattle to divide fairly, the warriors separated into two groups, *il-aa-rok-keiny* and *il-aa-ok-nanyi*, "the black ox" and "the red ears," and fought for the spoil. Small raids, *el-enamba*, carried out locally by one unit, were not submitted to the laibon, who received no share of the spoil.

Wars between Masai tribal groups were frequent, and formed one of the factors in the disintegration of the Kenya Masai at the end of the 19th century. In such wars, large numbers of men were collected in camps, such as Thomson saw in 1883 near Elmenteita, where two large collections of warriors (he put the number at about 3,000 on each side) were camped a short distance from each other, one camp being that of the Kayoite, the other of the Il-Ashipiak. A detachment of picked men from each side would come out and fight a pitched battle, covered on by their women-folk, the winning side taking the cattle of the vanquished. The basis of military discipline was pride, strengthened by love and respect of the laibon, and fear of public disapproval. The Masai also had some idea of drill and of acting in unison. Armed with meat, and in the panoply of ostrich-feather head-dress, cape, gleaming spear, shield, sword, club, painted face and leg ornaments, the Masai warrior felt himself more than a match for anyone.

Prisoners were not often taken, though sometimes a man would capture a woman whom he would make his wife, or a child whom he would adopt. Men were killed, women seldom. Peace was made by a formal ceremony at which nursing mothers

* Fosbrooke, pp. 15-17.

M 6.14 [186] /15/

The 'i ndèè and El ndlidjas to a certain extent stand in contrast to the El ondigasa, whom they half-convikingly, half-absolutely also call 'N dèèra-gatak (1)

M [192]

1. 'N dèèra, glutton, ng gatak, the mouth: by putting the two words together the idea of the first is supposed to be intensified.

or Ekg-n(i)-ngèi-ràni (2).

M [192]

2. ɲ the house of the hard vowels: ngèi a host, ng ràni, the mouth.

and, in contradistinction to them, designate themselves as Ekg n(i) ni mami. As the reason for this, tradition relates that the El ondigasa were once separated for a longer period of time from the other two tribes and, upon reuniting, made a bad impression because they no longer observed the divine commandment forbidding the killing of female animals for consumption. This gave rise to the above nicknames, which, freely translated, mean "greedy gluttons."

M 6.13 The El bedjo and El gorí are not infrequently designated as El simpira, a name formed after that of a war leader, Ch ngèi. As the reason for the combination, it was said that members of the two sublineages were once notorious cattle thieves.

M • 791 [6.13] [194] The most commanding lineage, not only of the 'i ràmi tribe, but of the whole blood people, is the El gideb, because both the family of the chief (ni ndèmi) and that of the sorcerer (ni gòmbi) belong to it. The designation 'chief' is actually not quite correct, since the ni ndèmi does not rule directly and does not exercise any real executive power. He rules only indirectly: the firm belief of his subjects in his prophetdom and in his supernatural ability of sorcery gives him an influence over the destinies of the people. Despotism and cruelty, such as we find among all Negro rulers, are foreign to him. He is less a ruler than a national saint or a patriarch, in whom the Wakanfi and Aná also see their head. The people speak of his saintly person in timid awe, and no one would

M [329]

D [791]

/10 cont./

• 791 dere to appear unannounced before the mighty one. Thus, the Ibbeni living on the military station of Ibbeki /Ibbeki/ remained hidden during Zandeo's presence when the latter visited it at the beginning of 1896, and my Ibbeni servant did not dare deliver a message either to Zandeo or to an attendant sitting beside him.

The aim of the chief's policy is the unity and strengthening of the Ibbeni. By letting the capacity of the warrior spend itself in expeditions against foreign tribes, he protects his own people from devastating civil wars for which the endless frictions of the districts among themselves would give continuous occasion. This influence makes possible for him the belief that a victory is attainable only through the secret power of the war medicine that he alone knows how to manufacture, and a defeat most inevitably comes if he produces it. Neither he nor his closest relatives go to war. He gives remedies against epidemics and sicknesses -- as a rule in the form /ti/ of magic medicines -- and orders supplications feasts in honor of the Ibbeni god Ng ei. He reads the prophecies from an oracle game of the kind of the counting off of buttons. From a seer's horn provided with a leather cover (Fig. 1) he takes a handful of river pebbles, puts one or several of them aside, and throws back the rest. After he has repeated this several times, he enumerates his prophetic verdict, which often enough is worded in Pythian ambiguity. The game, like the lineage, is called ei gbidi. The office of ei ndemi is hereditary and has been handed down until the most recent times from father to the eldest son of the principal wife. The badge of his office is an iron club.

Fig. 1.

The Ibbeni do not know much to say about the genealogical tree of the Ei ndemnik. The first four or five names that it contains belong to chiefs who ruled in early times. These names are Kidolei, Gerige, Bergumbe (Bergumbe), and Lenigridbeki. The next chiefs are historical and descend from modern times. The first of them, Kibelepe, seems to have ruled at the beginning of the nineteenth century: he was followed by his son Simnik, who

/13 cont./
was followed by Sukgi and the latter by Mbwiyun. After the latter's death the Wimmi split up. One part placed itself under Lusana, the eldest son of the principal wife, who was born before the accession of Mbwiyun, the other under Zanibu, who was the old man's favorite and had named by him to be his successor. The people relate that Lusana tricked Zanibu out of the succession in a way similar to how Jacob cheated Esau out of the right of the first-born. Whereas the deception was achieved in the latter case through the tool-of genetic, it was made possible in the former case by the gloom of the hut in which old, weak Mbwiyun was lying on his sick-bed. He thought he had Zanibu before him and bestowed Lusana in the secret are of the of silent. The two are now bitter enemies, who maintain a continuous civil war, to the misfortune of the Wimmi people. Lusana, now a man about 40 years old, lives with his followers in British East Africa, in the vicinity of the railroad station Nairobi, whereas Zanibu, ten years younger, inhabits, with his hordes, the steppes of German East Africa. Both are scarcely phantom figures in comparison with their father, who had occupied an outstanding place in the succession of chiefs. Under him the Wimmi experienced their last golden age. After his forefathers Uganda and Sukgi had subjugated the Wakwafi, it rested upon him to keep down their resistant uprisings and to weaken and enslave them so that no danger from them could threaten the Wimmi any longer. Through a well-organized spy system Mbwiyun kept himself continuously informed about the conditions of his opponents, so that the rapacious warriors could always attack them very Wakwafi settlements in which a war expedition /Mi/ against the Wimmi was being prepared. The most trouble here was made by the Wakwafi of Wembeng /bit. Wem-/, who found safe hiding places for women and livestock in the cleften mountain forests, while the men undertook raids on neighboring Wimmi kraals. Finally, however, the Wem people were successfully mastered; indeed, they even became so pliable that they performed compulsory labor for their oppressors. One must bear in mind with what deep contempt all men of the Wimmi people look upon any kind of work, which they regard as something disgraceful, not compatible with a man's dignity, in order to

/21 cont./

...ountered what such a success seemed. Wherever demanded their ...ands of workers, and they served obediently, to endless long lines, ...men, women and children, toward the coppe area of Kisenge, lying

Wenden photo.

Pl. 4. *Zambo, the present chief of the Wemi.*

...ese of the mountain, where the mighty ore resided, like his ancestors. There they had to dig a long water channel, whereby -- a further particular humiliation -- the men had to work in rank and file with the women. Encouraged by these and other successes, the Wemi became more and more arrogant, and they extended their war expeditions farther and farther. It was not only the Negro tribes of the interior who had to suffer under their lust for robbery and murder, they even penetrated into the immediate hinterland of the coast and directly approached the coastal cities of Mpinda, Tanga, Bagamoyo, and others.

The belief in the magic means for healing purposes which Wenyese gave them seeking help, and whose chief ingredient quantitatively was the vanilla-scented, pulverized wood of the ...ti mpingoro tree, was so deep-seated in the people /21/ that it was often supposed to have actually brought to the people

[illegible]/
recovery from his pains. Mbetyan cannot surrounding work through the discovery of a protective vaccination against long disease of cattle. According to the corresponding accounts of Zondoo and his old blood, Mbetyan, several years before his death, had already prophesied the appearance of Europeans that did not take place until after it and the subsequent subduing of the blood by Europeans. In the outward appearance of this man nothing divulged his power. On a thin, average-sized figure sat an ugly head whose face was disfigured more particularly by the lack of the eye -- allegedly a birth defect. This latter circumstance led to the origin of the legend that the chief must always be one-eyed and that the father should destroy in childhood one eye of the son later following him. The face was even more repulsive because of a scanty, slightly grey full beard. That is, in contrast to the other men, neither the ol ollemi nor the ol opiroti nor ol kiboshi overlooked (either below may pluck out their beards because they would lose their supernatural power through the removal of the beard hair.

The chief's village consists of a large number of kraals lying close together, several of which serve as the dwelling of the ol ollemi with his numerous wives. Mbetyan had about 200 wives; the still young Zondoo has only 30 of them. No stranger ever may enter [illegible] dwelling kraals of the chief and his wives or appear in their immediate vicinity. Close by are found the rest of the kraals, one of which is intended for conferences and receptions and in which a few older men close to the chief as helpers and advisers (ol oshomoni elpurrit ol ollemi) live with their families, whereas the others are occupied by warriors who form the defense of the village and, as the guards of the chief, his bodyguard. In his last years of life, when Mbetyan was mentally disturbed, he often spent months on the open steppes in a small hut made of branches, around which the warriors accompanying him camped in a large circle. The ceremony in the chief's camp is very simple. One of the men wandering about idly in the village leads the newcomer into the conference kraal, where he waits for the chief. As soon as the latter appears, the stranger

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/11 cont./
them, goes toward him, and, with the customary greeting, extends his hand to him, slowly, not this, but the wrist is grasped. After the concluded discussion, for which there are no particular formalities, he takes his leave with the ordinary farewell.

In the way of food, the *ol ménni* takes only goat liver roasted on the fire, milk, and honey, for, through any other food, "he would suffer the loss of the capacity for prophecy and the preparation of efficacious magic charms." Of these are very little is supposed to have been handed down to his son Lemana and will now to London, through which it is all the more explicable that the /12/ latest many tell of hundreds of different kinds of miracles that Mbaryan allegedly performed. According to them, he could fell large trees by sheer will power, or he had the hut in which he was to be found set afire by his enemies, and, after it had burned down, he appeared, uninjured, out of the ashes.

From the *Ol gidoli* lineage there are further supplies, as has already been mentioned, the sorcerer or medicine men (*ol gelerish-ni gelerish*, several of whom live in each district. Their office, too, is handed down from father to son, who, however, is usually initiated into the whole secret art only after his marriage. The most important magic charm in the life of the Masai, the war medicine, the *ol gelerish* does not know how to make. Rather, one turns to him only in cases of illness of human beings and livestock for which the well-known remedies fail, or which one traces back to the sorcery of evil neighbors, as well as to determine unknown wrongdoers (thieves, murderers, etc.).

The lineage of the El kiboshi of the El oiliojan tribe, who, according to the view of all the people, are especially favored by *Ng ai*, the god of the Masai, which has made them primarily the bearers of the religious traditions, require a special discussion. Corresponding to their position with *Ng ai*, they are distinguished by a relative peaceableness. The young warriors, to be sure, also set out on raiding expeditions with the other lineages, but they merely seem to avoid any unnecessary roughness or brutality, in which the others often compete. The passion for disputes, quarrels, and vituperation, a prominent trait in the character of the young

/xx conc./

582 for the contemplative idleness of the married man. But before the
583 marriage takes place the bride price is to be paid for.

As bride price (xx dagbile : the things, each pair of them, xx
dog) : the thing) he has pays the bride's father five pairs of heavy
iron which beer will be brewed, furthermore three cows and so on.
The bride's mother receives a male and a female sheep. The se-
cond the male sheep will be eaten at the feast taking place on the
[401] wedding day. Around that day, some often afterwards than before,
[561] the /xx/ bridegroom further brings the father-in-law a cow and the
mother-in-law a female sheep that has not yet had young, where-
upon the former call each other ka-gaal (1).

1. Cf. Second Part, II, terms of address for relatives.

while the bridegroom and the mother-in-law call each other ka-gaa
585 from now on. Every wife married later receives at the wedding
[595] from the principal wife of her husband a year-old heifer, whereupon
[613] the two call each other k'-ga-ka. From the eldest child of her hus-
[551] band two goats or sheep, hence the address ka-nkwa, and from the
[401] smaller children of four to six years old and upward a goat or a
sheep each, through which the address ka-gina, ka-nkwa, or ka-
583 kaka is brought about. During the period immediately after the
wedding, the mother-in-law receives from the son-in-law several
• [574] more pairs of heavy, skins for clothing, and iron wire for making
leg and arm ornaments. In the family of Chief Zandeo he receives,
so he told me, only a cow as bride price for one of his daughters,
while the mother of the girl gets two donkeys, a bull and a cow
with calf. Since the last rinderpest it has happened not infrequently
that a man is not in a position to pay the customary bride price.
He then gives the father-in-law only one cow and leads her to him
on a rope twisted out of grass. Whereas the bridegroom or young
married man delivers the gifts of livestock himself, he always sends
the heavy by a woman. She is either a wife married pre-
viously, his mother, his elder sister, or a wife of his brother. Only
when the distance is very great does he deliver the heavy himself,

[illegible]

/Pol name/

The circumcision of boys is a public affair and is ordered by the gi elimoi. With the issuing of his order, the circumcision years (1 or occasionally 2 eight) begin, that is, the following five to five /55/ years during which the boys may be circumcised. In all the districts the old ones have held ceremonies and set a definite day (3)

1. The circumcision of the boys belonging to the lineage of the El kiboito always takes place on the 30th day of the lokwi month.

So the circumcision of the five division of the boys in question. Similarly, later, in the following years, the circumcision days, usually only one in each year, will be determined by the following divisions of boys. It should be mentioned here, beforehand that all boys circumcised during a series of circumcision years have an age class (gi kadi) and that this age class is given a definite name by the gi elimoi. The circumcision period is ended by the gi elimoi ordering the ol gotilio. This is a festival which is celebrated by the five boys in

Ill. 17. Masai boys.

Ill. 10. Warriors.

[illegible] It is to be observed here that the girls who have been circumcised in the period from the beginning of a series of circumcisions years to the beginning of the next series are counted to the age class to which the boys circumcised within the same period up to the [illegible] festival are reckoned.

[illegible] As long as the members of an age class still belong to the warrior standing, these living in each area have their own head, the speaker (ol ngoroyani), whose we shall soon again to the warrior head. But if those belonging to one ol kuth are all married, they are given a head for the entire district, the ol oumoo, whose not only the people of his age class, but also those of all younger age classes are obliged to obey. It is the business of the ol oiboni in strange manner so that in each district only one holds this rank. The discussions with regard to his appointment begin even before all the ol kuth members have left the warrior standing. The speakers of the district go to the ol oiboni and put their request before him.

/Ti nan-/

After he has counted off the circle-crown of his oracle gourd for a while, he decides that S., the son of M., is so because of powers. This session is secret, and the speakers who have a duty to keep the result secret for the time being. A man can only become of powers who is distinguished by physical beauty, faultless build, strength, and health. After the speakers have returned home again to their own, they call together all the of both members there and, with them, again set out for the of others. Then a very large hut (or village shrine) is built there. When it is finished, the speakers take a number of warriors into their confidence and tell them who has been named of powers. Then oil gathers in the hut, in the course of which dumb a man, neatly carved oracles wood, toward which the new symbol is scrupulously pushed by those who have. As soon as this has been accomplished, a few of those standing around him push him down onto the mat, others place a string of blue ring-beads (I gourdge) around his neck, tie the spiral ear ornament made of copper wire (a wooden), such as is worn by old men and women, into his ear lobes, smears his face, skin spots (a pupil) of the warrior, and in its place drops around him the long one of the married (the of girls) of powers. Finally all these persons chase the new of powers and cry out "pregnant in life of giorlock, that is, remain pure, bring us luck. The belief in general continues that every of powers has remained pure: if he were to put trousers to his head, he would soon die, his wives would bear him five children, wealth would remain denied him. But he does not need it, for every man under him is obliged to give to the of powers nothing him a fat ox and milk. Hence he is commonly on raiding trips, which explain why he has neither a large herd of cattle nor numerous progeny. In his level the last who keeps the women at work is missing, and the latter in turn indeed have no incentive to work, for., by means of the gifts that fall to their husband, an excess of foodstuffs always prevails.

After the of powers festival is over, the other of both members wonder back home and celebrate a long-vowel feast (of hut), whereupon they /Ti/ usually set out on a war expedition, while the of powers himself goes back to his level and remains there.

The principal activity of the gi ayaaxt consists in keeping the people of his district together and preventing them from splitting up, which could be more or less disastrous for the latter. Occasion for this is furnished by both the constant petty jealousies and friction between the warriors of the various areas, who, for example, not infrequently plan two war expeditions at the same time, instead of concentrating on one, and the down-right selfishness of many old men, who are brilliant, in the selection of new pasturing places, to think only of the quality of the pasture, instead of also considering whether the warriors are in a position to protect the desired place from hostile attacks. As enemy's nervous effects not only the one who loses all his property in connection with it, but is a disgrace for the whole people. In such cases the gi ayaaxt covers his authority. To one who does not obey him, the authority of the gi ayaaxt is, as a rule, made clear by the others by means of a beating. Besides this activity, the gi ayaaxt, if necessary, acts as an intermediary between the people of his district and the gi sihaxt, and sometimes his decisions is requested in legal disputes, but since in this case he is guided very little by legal principles, but rather by political discretion, one cannot actually designate him as a judicial personage. The conjecture that the gi ayaaxt might have something to say in matters pertaining to the cult or might make magic sessions is obvious, but does not prove to be true.

We have seen above that every two age classes form an association. If the members of this association have all been married a long time, the gi sihaxt binds them even closer in that he bestows upon the two age classes, each of which -- which is to be said beforehand -- has its own name, a common name. This takes place at the gi daldk festival. For this all the men of the association gather near the gi sihaxt and build a large kraal in the vicinity of his village. Everyone brings heavy fur bearmaking or a head of cattle for the feast. The latter is then killed by suffocation, as at the gi galdk festival. The festival consists of the consumption of these things, whose climax is formed by the declaration of the gi sihaxt that those assembled henceforth belong to one association (gi ayaa), which only now actually exists and are to bear a common association-name.

/To cont./

with managing them. He must then rule over the property himself, and he exercise some other circumstances. He is taken into the youngest age class of the married men and designated as ei hamaiki (pl. ai hamaiki) of h. In the age class of the recruits as well as in that of the warriors, those living in one district form a company 150 to 200 men strong. In order to prevent a company from becoming too large through the presence of too great a number of boys in the circumcision, which would be injurious to discipline, they have the remedy of circumcision by divisions. Thus a special company is formed out of one or even two annual courses, which the ei olmoi does by the bestowal of a special name. /To/ Otherwise every age class gets only one name or five, which is then often replaced by a new one after a successful, larger war expedition or a distinction for bravery shown or, more correctly, for particularly rich spoils, but only when the men concerned have become older warriors. The ei olmoi gives the next name to the ei lmiti after it has received an ai nanaai to become the last one with the colors of two ai lmiti (see ai nilo) which then bears this new name until it dies out.

The present (that is, 1911) youngest age class is called ai gwiliki: it is the first of an association whose second has not yet been formed. The next association consists of the younger ai kipaasi and the older ai nanyaro. The latter were called ai ilgwalwa as youths and were given the name ai nanyaro after a successful war against the Ulaimba area. The next association is the 'l aimbo, consisting of the younger ai lmiti and the older ai nariaku. The former, as recruits, were called ai nalgwaiku after a war against Ukuba, ai ilgwilalgak and after the selection of the ai nanai, ai lmiti. The ai nariaku as youths were called ai nanaiki after a successful war against Lalitpia as ai nanyo. They received the name ai ilgwai and after the ai nanai selection, their present name.

Ill. 21. Very old man.

561 /77 cont./
701 Mixed, light colors are the symbol of fickleness, frivolity, flighty,
702 childlike, and childish sentiments; they are not proper for adult men
152 with a serious conception of life. The festival lasts about a month
865 as a rule. During it the youths practice handling the weapons, tell
[822] each other gruesome war stories, which they have heard from warriors
or invented themselves, and thus stimulate their imaginations, just as
the reading of Indian and pirate stories does this on occasion among
[276] European boys. They artificially make themselves positively wild,
to which also the taking, still strange to them, of various roots and
barks with a nerve-stimulating effect (which will be discussed later),
which they add to the cooking meat, contributes a great deal. All
their yearning is directed toward war and murder, everything in them
is pressing toward killing an enemy, and enemies for them are all non-
Masai. Each of them would like soon to be no longer an ebor alem -
[721] white, that is to say, not yet dyed with blood, sword. Not infrequently
they turn against defenseless caravans if such happen to be in the
vicinity. Whether or not spoils are to be taken in this is of no im-
portance, only killing and murdering, they do not think any further.
Many attacks on caravans have come about in this way. Such op-
portunities, however, are always rarities for individual troop of youths.
561 The rule is a war expedition against a sedentary tribe. After the
701 fighting, the el barnot again return to the paternal kraal to live there
702 a few more years. During this time they attach themselves more and
[721] more closely to the warriors, in order to learn from them and to im-
prove themselves in the art of war. They accompany the warriors on
their raids and now and then also take part in their forest meals.
Nevertheless they do not gain admittance into the warrior kraal,
which is just as wounding to their self-confidence as the circumstance
that they are looked down upon by the warriors and treated almost
like boys. The wish to be on an equal footing with the warriors grows
ever keener in them. But they still lack two things for that: the
name for their age class and the shield escutcheon.

561 In order to request the bestowal of the former from the ol oiboni,
[791] a gathering (en giguana) (1)

1. Any gathering for a consultation is called this.

/77 cont./

561 of all the age-fellows is first convened, so that they /78/ may choose
791 a delegation from their midst. To it belongs in the first rank the speaker, then a rather large number of the strongest and handsomest el barnot. All are provided with rich adornment, as well as beautiful weapons. Each ol barnoti has brought along a fine head of
[431] cattle. The large herd formed by this is taken along by the delegates as a gift for the ol oiboni. When they have then presented their request to the mighty one, he directs them to come the next day, when he imparts the answer by giving them, for example, the name el gischon. The ones circumcised during the period from 1896 to 1901 were given this one. It is supposed to mean: the generation after those weakened and impoverished by the rinderpest. After the

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Brauer phot.

Ill. 28. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

561 delegation has been dismissed by the ol oiboni, they return to their
791 native kraals. At a gathering again held there, all learn the new
[714] name and then consult about the choice of a shield escutcheon.

/79 cont./

714 531 which only the brave are entitled to wear, the os serata l el kigeloni. A shield emblem is complete if, in addition to the ornamental band, it also contains the red warrior-emblem.

The ornamental band is the stripe painted in the longitudinal diameter of the shield. Actually es segira is the name of the cowrie shells that, sewed on leather strips, adorn the gourd bottles. The similarity of such an ornamental band with the longitudinal stripe on the surface of the shield explains the Masai word used for this and my translation as ornamental band. The drawing of the ornamental band is unimportant and is often subject to the taste of the moment. Considerable differences exist both between the provinces and within the individual ones.

714 531 634 184 The most important emblem on the shield of the warriors is the red warrior-emblem. Three forms of it are distinguished: the double wedge (Plate 1: Figs. 2, 4, 6, 9, 13, 14, 15, 17) along the ornamental band belongs to Kisoñgo Province, the segments of circles (Plate 1: Figs. 5, 7, 10, 18) on the ornamental band are the emblem for Loita Province, and the peripheral emblem (Plate 1: Figs. 11, 12, 16) shows that the bearer of such a shield belongs to Ol bruggo Province. The warrior emblem is either on both halves of the shield or only on one: the former is the rule in Ol bruggo and Loita, the latter /80/ in Kisongo. Loita and Kisongo, however, show more exceptions. If the red emblem is painted on both halves of the shield, the one half shows the mirror image of the other, so that a symmetrical double emblem results, the center line of which is formed by the ornamental band. According to my explorations, this seems to have been the fashion especially after booty-rich war expeditions. On the other hand, where the red emblem is found on only one side, the other half of the shield shows one or two large, black, bow-shaped emblems (Plate 1: Figs. 2, 3, 5, 13, 15, 17, 18). These are commonly found in Kisoñgo, where they have been customary for as long as the memory of the people extends. They are rarer in Loita /Ill. 29 appears here/ and, to be sure, really only since the death of Mbatyan. Mbatyan resides in Kisongo, and his bodyguard consisted of Kisongo warriors. After his death Zendeo put together a guard made up of Loita warriors and also stayed largely in Loita in order to avoid the

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Brauer phot.

Ill. 29. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

714 influence of the Moschi military station better. The answer to the
531 question concerning the meaning of the black bows was almost always
634 merely that they probably served as ornamentation, since, with the
184 application of the warrior emblem on the one side, the other half
• 791 of the shield would look unattractively empty, and only a few old men
174 opined that it was originally a lineage emblem of the En gidon. This conception seems to me the right one, and it would explain why the emblem /81/ has been commonly used in Kisongo from time immemorial and then also came to Loita after Mbatyan's death.

714 The lineage emblem is almost never found on the shields of
531 today; thus I did not come across it until I had drawn by a number of
613 old men the shield escutcheons carried by them in their youth. The illustrations of Plate 2[1] show a collection of lineage emblems. We see there that the emblem is sometimes applied on the front of the shield surface, sometimes on the back of the shield. While the
[561] warrior emblems have remained the same for a long time, the lineage emblems were always quite variable, and it seems that each age class made up its own.

1, [See p. 608--Analyst]

/92 cont./

721 en dorosi, the en doros. For the warriors this consists of three or four
726 leather strips cut from the apron of their favorite girls, which are
714 adorned with stitched-on beads and, beside them, tied-on pieces of wood (from twigs of the ol araschi and os siaĩti trees), while the leaders wear as en doros the borrowed tobacco box of a married man or his fly switch. The en dorosi obliges every warrior to take part in the ex-
703 pedition. Anyone who nevertheless stays away out of fear is most deeply despised and outlawed; any warrior may kill him without penalty. In order to give the fainthearted courage, the most daring ones not infrequently stick a ball, which has a diameter of 10-12 centimeters and is made out of black ostrich feathers, on the tips of their spears. Through this they express their firm determination to attack the opponent and to stand up to him in hand-to-hand combat, for the ball may be removed from the spear point only by one's running it into the body of the enemy.

721 The purpose of a war is always only the capture of livestock, and, to be sure, only cattle. War is not undertaken for goats and sheep. Boys may go to steal small livestock! Only the capture of cattle is worthy of a warrior; he only takes small livestock along as well when he can directly achieve this together with the cattle.

721 In order to get permission for the war expedition, the speakers
791 together betake themselves to the ol oiboni and put before him the wishes of the warriors. None of the latter accompany them, since they would behave too uncouthly in the presence of the great man, who wishes calmness and clarity in the consultations.

721 /93/ The ol oiboni keeps himself accurately informed both about
726 the strength of the individual warrior kraals and about all the condi-
791 tions of the surrounding sedentary tribes coming into consideration for a war, so that he is in a very good position to judge accurately the prospects of victory for either side with great probability. He also keeps himself posted about unimportant and secondary matters with regard to the opponent and weaves all this knowledge adroitly together in his answer, so that it sounds like a seer's pronouncement and is taken as such by the speakers and warriors. His answer -- as the speakers report it -- runs, for example: "You will attack the Kahe
[264] area; it is strong, and you will therefore first hold a twelve-day

721
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/93 cont./
forest meal (1).

1. Ol bul or, if an en dorosi has taken place, ol bul en dorosi, or, in short for that, en dorosi, with which the present-day language also designates every forest meal prior to a war expedition.

in order to strengthen yourselves. Then you will set out for war on the day ol gadet. On the following day, ol ondjori, you will pass an old camping place. Then, before you reach your camp, you will meet a single Kahe boy. Do not kill him, but bring him to me; otherwise you would be defeated. On the ol onjugi day you will
726 fight and conquer, etc. etc." If something does not fit in, it is due
714 to the carelessness or mistakes of the warriors. Furthermore, for the
791 spies sent ahead of the expedition, the ol oiboni gives them a few
789 amulets (e mascho ol oiboni), which make their wearers invisible. The amulets contain one of his magic remedies and are tied around the wrist or to the spear or shield. Another war medicine consists of a mixture whose chief ingredient is snake eggs (mossor ol assurai). A large leg-bell (ol dualla kitok, Fig. 19) is filled with the medicine. In war it is tied to a club and hurled at the enemy offering resistance, so that he will flee, or it is tossed into his herd in order to drive apart the livestock, which then is caught by the Masai. In order to have the expected effect, it is desirable that the
726 medicine be hurled by a left-handed warrior. The speakers convey the chief's answer to the warriors, who have most impatiently awaited their return. Hastily they prepare themselves for the forest meal; weapons, pots, and the livestock needed are gathered together, and two by two the es sirit set out together for the nearest bush. Whereas
[263] in the ordinary meat meals only relatively few spices are used, for
[276] the en dorosi in particular all the many vegetable agents that the

Fig. 19. 1/3

/170 cont./

232 horny scar often five centimeters high, /171/ through which the
233 inoculated animals, which are now supposed to be protected against becoming sick with tuberculosis, are permanently marked. Numerous observations in this direction showed me the justification of this view.
[176] [191] The ol oiboni Mbatyan is regarded as the inventor of the inoculation method.

[136] In some years, and, to be sure, in the rainy season, great multitudes of dark green caterpillars one to one and a half inches long are found in the grasses of the steppe. Cattle that eat the caterpillars are stricken with eng ea el gurt (ol gurto = the caterpillar). As symptoms of the sickness I observed: first a few hoarse coughing sounds, then giddiness, which rapidly mounts and makes the animal stagger as though out of drunkenness; soon it lies down and is brought to a standing position only with difficulty, only to lie down again after a few minutes, whereupon death occurs often after only half
[411] an hour. The treatment consists of bloodletting by an arrow shot (Fig. 76) into the jugular vein, whereby one to one and a half liters of blood is emptied out. Through that recovery is reached after just a few hours, as I observed in over 100 cases (1).

1. The microscopic examination of blood slides (ear, heart, spleen) of sick and dead animals gave a negative finding (Oberarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Grothusen). I observed the appearance of masses of the caterpillars in March, 1898, in the steppe south of Kilimandscharo, in December, 1902, in the steppe southwest of Kilimandscharo, in the entire region between the latter and Lake Manyara, and in April, 1905, in Daressalam /Dar es Salaam/.

[177] In another case, out of four head of cattle, after two had already died of the sickness, the other two, through the infusion of an emetic consisting of a mixture of sugar-cane beer and a tobacco extract, which was given upon the advice of the Wapare in Manamata on the southern end of Lake Jipe, could be cured.

752 /192 cont./
that of an egg or even amputates the member (hand, finger, toe), if
[758] this seems to him absolutely necessary. After the operation the patient is given raw sheep kidney to eat and a considerable amount of liquid sheep fat to drink, whereupon severe diarrhea soon sets in. Often one has him go through a sweat cure in that he is set over glowing charcoal on which leaves of Barleria mucronata and sheep hair are thrown.

On a scorpion sting (a-tonjo eñ golówa) one has a woman who has given birth to twins or, lacking such, a pregnant woman spit and rubs the saliva over the painful spot. As long as the pain continues,
[262] [791] the patient eats only raw goat liver, to which is ascribed some kind of marvelous effect -- as is also shown by the fact that it is the only solid food of the ol oiboni.

Into the wound caused by a poisoned arrow another person urinates
[759] as quickly as possible. At the same time the wounded one is given as an emetic a mixture of the juice of the fruit of en dulele (Solanum campylacanthum) and the amniotic fluid (eñ géba) of a gravid sheep, which is slaughtered for this purpose.

757 For conjunctivitis (eñg ga eñ goño) a tobacco extract (eñ gare ol gumbau) or the juice of leaves of ol ogildia (Coleus kilimandscharicus), ol dungui (Harrisonia abyssinica Oliv.) and ol assajet, or an extract of the leaves of ol gummi, is dripped into the eyes.

752 The surgeon removes the remains of a violently destroyed eye, by drawing it out of the eye socket, with an awl bent hook-shaped, far enough so that he can cut it off with the razor. The eye socket is then washed out with warm water and not bandaged afterwards.

A place that has suffered a sprain or bruise the El dorobo rub
[171] with the juice of ol gerigus (Iatropha spec.). Sometimes they also apply the same drug by the method of rubbing the powder of the charred twigs into small incisions that are made on that place.

/193/ Dislocated limbs are set again and placed in a splint bandage that is not stiff. For a lower-arm dislocation the surgeon sits on the ground in front of the patient, grasps his lower arm just above the wrist, and sets it again by a gradually stronger pulling exerted in the required direction. He then puts around the affected
[237] part, from the middle of the lower arm to that of the upper arm, which are drawn together at an angle of 135°, a padded bandage consisting of a strip of sheep leather that is covered with as much thick and soft hair as possible. The padded bandage is tied with a

/201 cont./ Later, upon passing
764 [765] the place, one again throws a stone or a handful of grass on that spot where the dead lay. The more respected he was, the longer this custom expressing veneration is continued.

[787] If the laid-out corpse is immediately devoured the first night by hyenas, this is regarded as a sign from 'Ng ai, at whose command the animals act here, that the deceased was a good human being. [782] On the other hand, if one finds the corpse still untouched the next morning, the survivors bring a black ram as a sacrifice to appease the wrathful god. No prayer is spoken in this connection.

765 After the obsequies, a funeral banquet takes place, at which the animal whose fat served to anoint the deceased person is consumed. Everyone is welcome to take part. Formal mourning is observed only after the death of adult male persons. The period of mourning does not begin until one or more months after the death, and, to be sure, with the survivors shaving their heads (1)

1. Cf. the passage Micha /Micah/ 1, 16 (from the time around 724 B.C.) and Jer. 7, 23 /sic; see 7, 29/ (from the time around 605 B.C.).

--and the principal widow also cuts her nails -- and ends as soon as the hair has grown back about an inch long. /202/ The mourners remove all ornaments, for which the women also unwind the wire spirals from their necks and the wire cuffs from arms and legs; they do not take part in any feast or dance and may not marry during the period of mourning. For the death of a warrior his fellow comrades and fellow section-members, as well as his brothers and half brothers, mourn by shaving their heads and removing their ornaments.

766 In contrast to the simple exposure of the corpse, that of a chief [791] (ol oiboni), of a married man of the El kiboron lineage, and often [613] also that of a sorcerer (ol goiatiki) is buried. The bottom of a pit [764] a meter deep is covered with a neat's hide moistened with fat, and [237] upon this the corpse is laid in the position described above. A second neat's skin, likewise rubbed in fat, is then spread over the corpse. Now the pit is filled with stones and earth and the latter

/202 cont./

766 [791] [613] [769] [778] stamped down firmly so that hyenas will not be able to dig up the grave. The chiefs grave, as well as often the graves of the El kiboron old men, are crowned with a larger or smaller stone mound. Later, as a sign of veneration for the dead, Masai passing by will throw a few bunches of grass on the latter, whereas on the former, which is regarded as sacred, they from time to time pour a little milk as an offering.

766 791 Concerning the burial of Mbatyan, his son Zendeo told me the following: When he ol oiboni died, ~~his~~ large bodyguard was gathered around him, and immediately warriors set off in all directions, in order to bring the sad news to the kraals lying far from one another. From everywhere Masai came streaming in, the relatives of the deceased all appeared, down to the smallest infant. Every mourner brought a few fat-tailed sheep along, which, after a large herd was assembled, were daughtered. Meanwhile the corpse had been laid out on a neat's skn. Beside this the closest relatives laid their leather aprons and others added theirs in a line ca. 100 paces long, the aprons being placed so that they formed a channel. Now the boiled-out fat was poured on the corpse and flowed along the channel. Then the body was buried, whereupon all the people brought grass and heaped a pile several meters high over the grave, which was then covered on the sides as well as on top with layered stones. In contrast to this description, there is a rumor circulating repeatedly among the people, according to which Mbatyan, several days before his death, in a state of mental derangement, is supposed to have secretly left the kraal at night and wandered about in the steppe, without the men of his guard, who had followed him, being able to find him. Then, when he was found on the fifth day, he was dead and his body already decomposed.

768 If in one kraal several young people or even children have died of some illness within a short time, it is abandoned, first because it is regarded as unlucky, but then also /203/ to enable the survivors to forget the sad event more easily. In such cases of death one can always observe deep sorrow among the relatives, whereas the death of old people, even own parents, is accepted more calmly. "The old ones are now resting, they sleep, their time has come."

/209 cont./

796 782 [751] [237] participants eats a small piece of the meat, after he has roasted it in the ashes. Furthermore he is given a strip of the skin, from which he then fashions amulet rings, one for himself, the others for his relatives. The ring protects the wearer from sicknesses of every kind. Men wear it on the right middle finger, women wear it on the large spiral-shaped neck ornament of iron wire. During the feast the participants constantly sing: [539]

Hai narok, oho, Hai kindera ije, oh,
Hai narok, oho, Hai ndogo ijok oh!

(Hai ndogo ijok = may God feed us; aldog = water the cattle, ndogo ijok = give us to drink, give rain.)

796 782 233 On the following day the women carry fresh cattle dung to the ashes and knead a mash from it, into which is mixed a medicine that an ol goiatiki has prepared and brought along. With these preparations the second part of the supplication feast has begun, which is called ol ogor l oñ gischu, i.e., supplication feast for the cattle. Amidst the same songs as above the women spread the medicine on the livestock in the form of lines and curves, and, to be sure, on the spines of the cows and female sheep, on the right side of the belly of the male animals and those females ones that have not yet dropped young. With this the feast is over. The goats are not smeared, but are driven to pasture even before this ceremony. As the reason for this the Masai say that 'Ng ai does not like goats because they do not modestly carry their little tails hanging down as a fig leaf.

796 782 842 • 791 Another supplication feast is celebrated only by the married women in order to implore God to give them children. It is called iruga 'Ng ai ol adjo, i.e., may God hear the word. In or near the kraal the women gather in the forenoon, together with a sorcerer (ol goiatiki), around whom they station themselves in a circle. Every woman is then given an amulet by him, which she hangs on the hip cord of the skin apron. Then he sprinkles their heads and shoulders with a medicine, which, besides milk and honey beer, also contains one of his secret remedies, for which he is rewarded with a few sheep. Then the women dance and sing throughout the day under a shade tree, during the night in the kraal, until dawn.

/299 cont./

000 Among them the boys were clipped (circumc.) at the age of 10-12, the girls at the age of about six (exc. clit.). As bride price the husband paid the father of the bride 40 beehives and 12 pots of honey. After the birth of a child the woman did not leave the hut for five days. On the day of the first walk outside, her head and that of the new born child were shaved.

Several times during the month whole bands of older women and men, laden with honey and clay pots which they made themselves, set out for tribes engaged in agriculture, in order to get vegetable foods in exchange for them.

/300/ Nothing is known to my informants about the significance of the animal figures made out of clay that were seen in their kraals and huts.

They called God Schábischab.

173 In contrast to the extensive and firmly established traditions from the remotest past stand the paucity and uncertainty of the information from more recent times. Coherent historical memory does not extend beyond a generation; what lies before that is uncertain. The somewhat certain information tells of war expeditions, livestock epidemics, drought, and similar unimportant events.

173 561 791 Therefore only the series of the age-class associations, which, incidentally, also has gaps and is uncertain, and that of the chiefs are still to be completed:

El diẽgi	ol oiboni: Kibebete.
El kisaroni	ol oiboni: Sitonik.
El merischari	ol oiboni: Subet.
El kidotu.	
El duati	ol oiboni: Mbatyan.
El ńiaṅgussi.	
'L aimerr	ol oiboni: Lenana (1).

1. Zendeo only belongs to the age class of the El kipuani, which at the present time is attached to the next older one, the El meruturut, not yet to an ol adji.